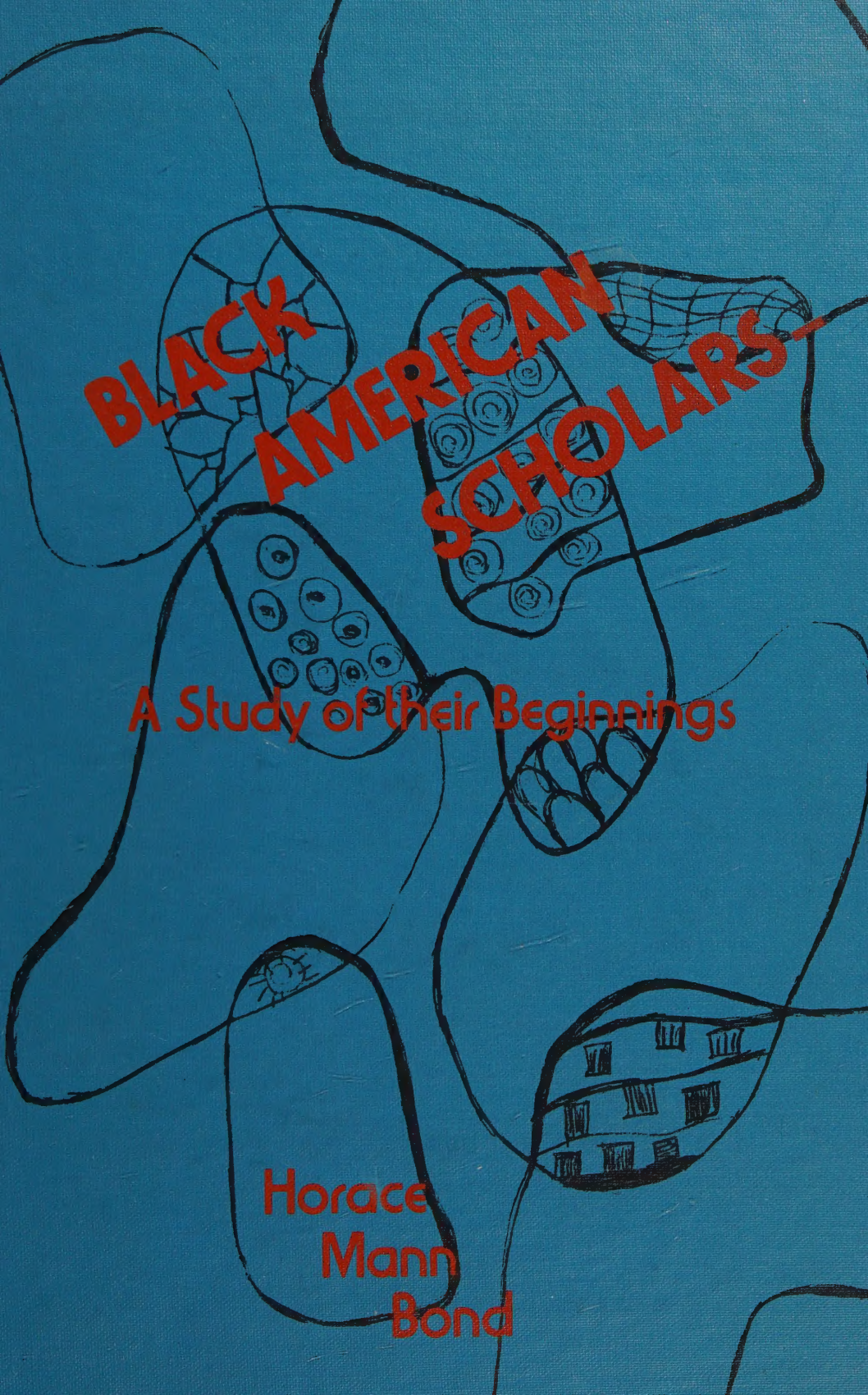


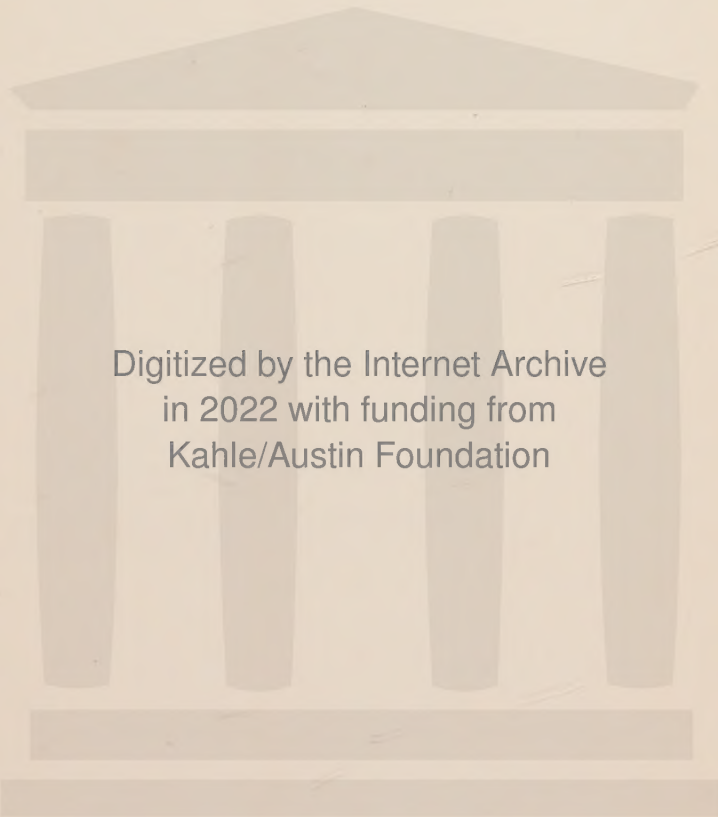


BLACK AMERICAN SCHOLARS

A Study of their Beginnings

Horace
Mann
Bond





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- BLACK AMERICAN SCHOLARS -

A Study of Their Beginnings

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PREFACE

BLACK AMERICAN SCHOLARS —

A Study of Their Beginnings

This work was inspired by some studies I had begun in connection with the preparation of the 1959 Harvard University Lecture, "The Search for Talent." I was struck by the opportunity this project gave me to examine the socio-economic background of scholars over the world.

I was convinced that the hereditarian, genetic explanation of the occurrence of high ability in human beings was entirely a product of the neo-Darwinism that seized the popular imagination during the second half of the nineteenth century. It was in reaction to this notion that I planned this analysis.

It is with the utmost faith in the equalitarian nature of human ability that I submit this study.

Horace Mann Bond
Atlanta, February, 1972

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— CHAPTER 1 —

PROBLEM AND PROCEDURES

I. THE PROBLEM — PREVIOUS STUDIES

The immediate origin of the problem this study seeks to examine may be traced to the first successful launching of an earth satellite by the Russians on October 4, 1957. On October 16, 1957, *Pravda* published a list of thirty-four “heroes of science,” whose researches had made this historic feat possible; the list was re-printed in the *New York Times* on the following day.

The Russians used the occasion to extoll the virtues of the Communist system in general, and of the Communist educational system in particular. The spectacular scientific accomplishment profoundly affected American thinking; this was a work of undoubted human genius, and we were more than disposed to agree that the Russians had contrived some kind of magical combination of the discovery and education in scientific techniques that far surpassed our own national endeavours.

The situation to be examined was not helped by the method of identification of the background of the “heroes of science” employed by Russian propaganda. Almost invariably, the men responsible for the technical contributions over a wide range of complicated technologies were identified as the “sons of (scientific) workers”, giving the impression to Americans unaccustomed to the peculiar phraseology of the Russian terminology, that we had witnessed a demonstration of what could be done when, in a “worker” state, the children of the stereotyped Russian “mouzhik,” and the grand-children of serfs, could be so quickly elevated to the very highest pitch of technical understanding and competence.

Americans had forgotten, if they had ever known, that the Russian empire, however backward, had a population that in sheer size was from one-third to fifty percent larger than the American one. Nor did we stop to think, that despite the statistics bespeaking greater comparative “backwardness” of this huge empire, in terms of the percentages of persons who had attained literacy, and the level of higher studies, it had a long and honorable tradition of higher and technical

education, and in sheer numbers, the persons who had attained literacy, and higher technical and university status, did not suffer from comparison with the numbers of similar classes in the United States. Russia had not been as "backward" as we had thought.

This writer then made an analysis of the paternal background of these admittedly great scientists; many had achieved prominence in the pre-revolutionary period, and biographical sketches in Russian or international reference works were available; other biographical information was available in various press releases, and in the published biographical notices of their frequently distinguished fathers.

Such an analysis showed that few, if any, of the "heroes" were derived from proletarian families; even more so than one would expect in an analysis of American scientists, the distinguished Russian scientists were likely to be the sons of distinguished Russian fathers whose sons followed the father's bent. M. A. Leontovich, a physicist among the younger men who were educated in Soviet schools, was the son of A. V. Leontovich, the late head of the Department of Normal Physiology at the Institute of Physiology in Kiev; Sergei Vavilov, of the older group, was the son of a "farmer," but a "farmer" who owned and managed considerable estate; P. L. Kapitsa, still credited as the driving force behind the development of nuclear activities in the Soviet Union, was the son of a general in the Engineering Corps of the Czarist Army, educated in pre-revolutionary days in the aristocratic polytechnic school at Kronstadt, at the Petersburg Polytechnic, and later, at Cambridge. M. A. Laurentyev, mathematician, modestly described in the official Soviet biographies as having been born "in the family of a scientific worker," was the son of a father who was Professor of Mechanics at the University of Moscow.

V. G. Khlopov, "hero" because of his outstanding contributions in the field of Optics, received his first training in the field in the laboratory of his father, G. V. Khlopov, a professor of Physics at the University of Moscow. A. A. Lebedev, a professor of Optics at the University of Moscow, had a father who held the same position at the University.¹

In short, it appeared that the discovery and encouragement of men of high scientific "talent" in contemporary Russia stemmed less from a fairly new and very effective educational system innovated by the Communist regime, than from those parental and other family background influences that have been associated with academic preferment and recognition in all previous studies of social mobility

and educational elites, in all Western societies, and, even, in developing nations today.

In Great Britain, Schneider estimates that only 10% of British scientists, in the period from 1600-1900, were derived from the "lower class" groupings of craftsmen, artisans, laborers, and servants. The percentage in the population of these groupings must have exceeded 80% of the total. In the American colonies, and the United States, 11% of the scientists were traced to these "lower" classes.²

Studies by others of the patterns of the social origins of intellectual elites confirm Schneider's observations. A number of studies of European patterns have been reported by Sorokin.³ Philipschenko studied the origin of Russian scholars, scientists, men of letters, and members of the Russian Academy in the eighty years preceding 1910. He noted that scholars were derived from agriculture in 7.9 percent and from all classes of laborers in 2.7 percent of the cases. Great contemporary scientists came from agriculture in 14.1 per cent of the cases, and from laborers (defined to include peasants) in 3.5 per cent of the cases. All of the rest came from the upper classes. While the statistical base does not exist to apply the method of expected cases to this report, it is clear that in Russia during the period studied by Philipschenko, less than 15% of the population accounted for upwards of 85% of the scholars.⁴

Fritz Maas analyzed the social derivation of German scientists, reporting that 23.8% of the "exact" scientists born after 1700 and dying before 1910, were derived from the lower middle, artisan, peasant, and proletarian classes, while only 7.8% of the natural scientists were so derived.⁵ Cattell and Brimhall have analyzed the social origins of American scientists and arrived at very similar results. An overwhelmingly large proportion of these persons had origins concentrated in the middle and upper classes; when the scientists were sub-divided on a scale of the worth of their contributions, the authors state:

"A larger proportion of the scientists born on farms were of low distinction and a small proportion of higher distinction. However, no home of a person engaged in domestic service or in day labor even of the highest grades produced an eminent scientist."⁶

More recent studies confirm the fact, that the intellectual elite is likely to be drawn principally from the higher echelons of the social order. This was the finding of the National Opinion Research Center's survey, published in 1949.⁷ Professional respondents in that Study, and in a Study of Negro Professionals in the city of Washington, D. C.

showed the percentage of fathers falling into various occupational classes:⁸

Occupations of Fathers	N.O.R.C. Study	Edwards' Study
Professional	23.0	31.1
Proprietor	24.0	11.8
Clerical	10.0	15.3
Skilled	13.0	10.1
Semi-Skilled	5.0	6.1
Service	5.0	12.0
Farm	17.0	8.0
Non-farm Labor	2.0	3.9
Don't Know	1.6	1.6

Most of the earlier studies of able persons began with an implicit belief that the differences in productivity of such persons as between social and economic classes were due to genetic differences. The father of the Eugenics movement, Francis Galton, ascribed the tendency of high ability to be concentrated in certain families altogether to genetic factors.⁹ Sorokin criticized Fritz Maas' studies for being too "environmentalist," although Maas particularized inherited qualities as explaining an unexpected productivity of diplomats by peasant origin by saying, "This can only be explained through the influence of natural endowment, especially the famed slyness and craftiness of the peasant, which is a characteristic very advantageous for diplomats."¹⁰ This implicit belief in a genetic explanation of intellectual abilities was for long an article of faith among American psychologists, although greatly shaken within the last decade.¹¹

II. THE CONCEPT OF THE UNDERPRIVILEGED

This study was described as one studying the "factors involved in the identification and encouragement of unusual academic talent among underprivileged populations." For our purpose we considered the Negro population in the United States as an "underprivileged" population; and we defined instances of "unusual academic talent" as being persons in that racial group who had demonstrated "unusual academic talent," by receiving an academic doctoral degree.

In 1955, it was estimated that 140 Americans per thousand of a given age received baccalaureate degrees; that 27 received Master's degrees; and that 3.5 received doctoral degrees. In 1960, as this Study was beginning, 10,002 Americans are estimated to have received doctoral degrees; this writer's estimate is that 160 — approximately

1.6% — were Negroes. We believe the high selection represented by these figures warrants describing them as persons of “unusual academic talent.”

As to the word, “underprivileged,” it is a class description that has variously been titled, “the disadvantaged,” the “culturally disadvantaged,” the “deprived,” the “educationally” and “economically disadvantaged,” the “culturally deprived,” the “educationally deprived.” Indeed, the words are yet used interchangeably. Gordon recently divided studies of “socially disadvantaged children” according to “those behaviours or circumstances which are assumed to set these children apart from their more *privileged* peers.”¹²

By and large, it will be admitted that the Negro people, in the mass, has been, and is, an “underprivileged,” a “socially disadvantaged,” population. One of the interesting outcomes of this Study has been to observe the considerable spread within the racial group, as to the degree of the presence, or lack of, “privilege,” or, of “cultural advantage,” or “cultural disadvantage” in this population.

We are dealing here with individuals; but the individual is rooted in a family, or in a family that has no familial roots. Any meaningful description of the status of the Negro must be in terms of generations.

If we collapse a “generation” to twenty years for the periods since 1640-1780 — on the grounds that most Africans introduced into the American colonies were near adults, or adults — we have some five generations of American Negroes up to 1790, the date of the first decennial census. Counting, thereafter, a “generation” as including a thirty-year span, the experience of “freedom” for all of the race occurred in 1865, in the time of the Eighth generation.

A portion of this population was “free” from the earliest period of residence in America. Along the way, there were constant infusions of biological and cultural strains from non-African sources; American Indian and European. Even the “free” part of this population was “underprivileged” by comparison with other Americans, whether living in the North, or South.¹³ The Negro was introduced to the American class system only at the time of his emancipation, at the end of the Civil War in 1865; the following table (1-1) estimates his comparative status since 1790.

TABLE 1-1

THE ESTIMATED STATUS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO,
BY SLAVE OR FREE STATUS, 1790-1860, AND BY
SOCIAL CLASS, 1870-1960¹⁴

Generation In America	Year	Total Population	The Free Population Number	Per Cent
VI	1790	757,808	59,557	7.9
	1800	1,002,059	108,457	10.8
	1810	1,377,808	186,446	13.0
VII	1820	1,771,656	233,634	13.1
	1830	2,328,642	319,599	13.1
	1840	2,873,648	386,293	13.1
VIII	1850	3,638,808	434,495	11.3
	1860	4,441,130	488,070	10.4

POPULATION BY CLASS

		Total	Percentage		
			Lower	Middle	Upper
IX	1870	4,880,009	96.9	3.0	0.1
	1880	6,580,793	95.9	4.0	0.1
	1890	7,488,676	94.8	5.0	0.2
	1900	8,883,994	92.7	7.0	0.3
X	1910	9,827,763	89.5	9.0	1.5
	1920	10,463,131	84.0	14.0	2.0
	1930	11,891,143	79.7	18.0	2.3
XI	1940	12,865,518	77.6	20.0	2.4
	1950	14,894,000	72.5	25.0	2.5
	1960	18,872,000	66.0	30.0	4.0

WHITE CLASS DISTRIBUTION—

1960 PERCENTAGE (ESTIMATED): 15.0 70.0 15.0

III. THE PROBLEM: THE HYPOTHESES

This Study was projected (1959), at a time when one of the pressing national enthusiasms was for locating the "gifted", the "talented" child; it was a part of the reaction to the Russian success in space, to which reference has been made above. The application for the grant from the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, pointed out that . . .

" . . . Present devices and methods for identifying prospective academic talent show a high incidence of 'talent' among the socially and economically privileged, and a striking absence of such promise among the socially and economically underprivileged. For instance, the 1956 'talent search' conducted by the National Merit Scholarship Corporation reveals that (a) 234 scholars for whom father's occupation is reported derived from parents who were professional, technical and kindred workers, who number, in the 1950 census, 2,955,350 of the United States male labor force, while only one scholar had a father classifiable as a laborer, although 3,581,370 males were listed as laborers in the 1950 census. An arrangement of productivity of National Merit scholars by United States Census socio-economic occupational classes shows an absolute order of rapidly descending productivity as occupational classes descend."¹⁵

It was also pointed out, that geographical location was an important factor in determining the probable productivity rates of areas within cities, and areas within entire States. National Merit scholars "tend to cluster in highly industrialized areas", and in the suburban portions of such areas; and in University towns possessing a heavy concentration of scholarly families.

" . . . In 1956, for example, 35 of 73 National Merit Scholars and certificate winners in Kentucky were residents of Jefferson County, principally of Louisville; while, in the 8th Congressional District (a rural, mountain area with approximately the same population), not a single such person had residence."

It was further pointed out, that at this time (1956), no Negro child had been awarded a National Merit Scholarship (several have so qualified in later years, but the percentage is well below 1% of the total).

It was also pointed out, in the process of defining the problem, that current belief was that a low I.Q. on standard intelligence tests, precluded the possibility of successful performance on the college level; not to mention, success on the graduate level. It is a matter of

record, that the adoption of "cut-off" scores is a growing practice among graduate schools.

It was pointed out, that evidence did exist that relatively low-scoring individuals had attained success in advanced graduate studies; and it was suggested, that one of the purposes of the Study would be to examine this situation as it affected persons who had at least received the academic badge of the doctoral degree. Reference was made to the fact, that almost all studies of persons of academic distinction or promise made within the last few decades, began with a selection based on test scores; while we proposed to begin at the end of the process — with the persons who had been academically successful — and trace the affecting factors back as far, and as completely, as possible. "Questions and Hypotheses" were established as follows:

- I. It is hypothesized that certain environmental factors are associated with emergence of persons distinguished in scholarly attainment which are not necessarily susceptible of psychometric measurement. Among these are:
 - A. The Family: its psychological and motivational climates.
 - B. Parental education and occupation.
 - C. The influence of the school, and of the individual teacher.
 - D. The psychological and motivational climates of the community and of community institutions.

It is also hypothesized, that there is an "ecology of talent." When a group of academically able persons from an underprivileged population (e.g., Negroes) are related geographically by birthplace; and by the birthplace of their parents, and grand-parents; a definite "clustering" pattern appears, in terms of certain counties, and communities. This phenomenon may be correlated with known socio-economic factors, descriptive of these counties; e.g., percentage of farm ownership, ancient high-level rural communities with a tradition of good education, farm ownership, and the like; the presence of an elementary or secondary school of high character, during the childhood of parents, and even of grandparents.

- II. It is hypothesized, that "talent" may appear in certain family lines, due either to social or genetic inheritance.
- III. It is also hypothesized, that there are internal characteristics in a test performance profile suggesting unusual academic promise in some instances, for persons derived from generally low-scoring populations. If this be so, it might be possible to devise a formula by which test scores are weighed by comparative socio-economic-cultural factors, and through which a predictive index of attainment for underprivileged children might be developed.
- IV. It is further hypothesized, that a study of a sub-sample, using project methods, will add valuable illumination to the problem

in general, and, specifically, to an understanding of the motivational structure of individuals attaining academic success.

It may be possible to identify personality factors responsible for the unexpected academic success of low-scoring students from underprivileged strata, so as to assist schools generally in discovering such persons.

Such a "study in depth" would also serve to verify the validity of the data sought through questionnaires.

Comments on Hypotheses

In our sample of Negro doctorates, examples are not unusual of persons who have attained distinction as scholars (by any criteria), after registering percentile scores in Nationally Standardized Intelligence Tests well below the 20th percentile. They derived from very low socio-economic cultural surroundings. It may be possible for youth similarly situated, to devise a composite of weighting factors, that would find in a relative test performance, a reliable indication of real potential, given improved educational treatment and guidance.

Underprivileged populations invariably make better comparative scores on quantitative sections of aptitude tests, than on verbal sections.

An analysis of the scores attained by academically able students from underprivileged strata, by differential performance in quantitative as compared to verbal tests, may yield a predictive value for future academic potential.

IV. THE PROPOSED PROCEDURES

The complete display of the procedural approach may be found in the Appendix. Those procedural steps are summarized here.

It was proposed to collect information by questionnaires, interviews, and the review of the school, college, and graduate records from a hoped-for sample of some 500 Negroes who had received an academic doctorate degree. Additionally, it was hoped that a "control" group of an equal number of the classmates of these persons, who had not received such degrees, would be investigated by the same devices.

It was planned, that the Thematic Apperception Test would be administered both to members of the degree-group, and of the control group.

It was hoped that (1) the principal outcome would be to provide "a more accurate formulation than is now available, of indices useful in identifying academic promise among under-privileged groups", while (2) (accumulating) a substantial body of materials (a) en-

couraging further study and refinement of the techniques recommended, and (b) describing the study.

V. MODIFICATIONS OF THE PLAN

Circumstances required various modifications of the design. In the major departure, calling for the administration of The Thematic Apperception Test as originally envisioned by the writer, and by advisors from the Office of Education who served as Consultants for the Study, it was impossible to implement that part of the Study. We had been advised, that Negro psychologists be employed; there were not enough such persons; the subjects were too widely scattered geographically to make the enterprise economically feasible, regardless of the race of the test administrator.

On the positive side, we were able to extend the scope of the Study by including in some of the statistical information available, nearly 1,500 doctorates whose IBM cards had been a part of the *Doctorate Production in United States Universities*, before a study of the National Academy of Sciences — National Research Council.¹⁶ The study of *Doctoral Production* did not list its subjects by race. However, each card was coded for the undergraduate college of the doctorate; we supplied the National Research Council with the code numbers of predominantly Negro institutions, none of which had appreciable numbers of white students prior to the presumed date of graduation — 1960 — when its doctorates could appear in the listings of a study including doctorates through 1962. While these cards were based on a questionnaire that called for answers to but few of the questions in our own material, they provided a much greater wealth of general information than our more limited sample had to offer.

We had estimated, that by 1960 there were approximately 1,500 living holders of the academic doctorate, by Negroes. Our estimates were based on the pioneer study, by Harry Washington Greene, *Holders of Doctorates Among American Negroes*, that was published in 1946 but that listed American Negroes that Greene had counted as receiving such degrees through 1943.¹⁷

Greene's list is believed to be reliable. It includes 389 names. We began with a list of some 1,200 names that had been accumulated through the years by President Rufus E. Clement, of Atlanta University, as an aid in recruiting faculty. The catalogues of various institutions were inspected, especially those of institutions known to be large employers of Negro academic doctorates. Additionally, the

Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute had for years compiled annual lists of Negro doctorates.

From these various sources we accumulated a master mailing list of nearly 1,400 persons. In corresponding with these persons, we discovered that it was a highly mobile population; only some 900 addresses proved correct.

From these persons, we obtained 517 responses; a rate of return we thought superlative, considering the highly personal information requested, in what was a long, as well as personal inquiry.

An early scanning of the returns showed imperfections in the questionnaire. For example, the large number of siblings was surprising. We had refrained from asking any respondent to list the names of ancestors, believing that to clutter the questionnaire up with requesting such information might be construed as an invasion of the privacy of the individual. This was especially so because, as will be pointed out, there was so much evidence of miscegenation in the backgrounds of many families where grand-parents were concerned. Indeed, it was learned verbally from some questioned, that they did not respond because as one college president bluntly stated, "I am *not* going to tell anyone about all of those white folks mixed up in my background."

On the other hand, some persons were frankly revealing in their accounts of the racially checkered background of their family histories. The family histories finally came to be, for this writer, the most revealing of all of the documents collected, although impossible to reproduce in a meaningful statistical analysis.

The family histories were also the most difficult and time-consuming parts of the Study, leading to much delay, — beyond the appointed time for the termination of the Study, as efforts were made to confirm, and even extend, some accounts given. Genealogy, at best, is a difficult discipline; for Negroes, including many persons in this sample who were of partial or entire slave ancestry, the difficulties of tracing families are in some cases beyond solution. Such an endeavour will inform one, that the Negro is, indeed, an "under-privileged" population. The slave was a chattel; he is listed in public documents, if at all, only by a first name, or as a "wench", "boy", "my Negro Man Jeff", and the like. Trying to trace one family that produced four doctorates required recourse to the National Archives, to the State Archives of Virginia, North Carolina, and Alabama; and to county court-house records in three States.

The defensive rationalization of the "peculiar institution", that

has been engrafted on the national consciousness through the public media of popular fiction, newspapers, and latterly, the moving pictures and television, and public school text-books, as a romantic institution glorifying the cavalier qualities of the South, the kindness and gentility of the slaveowner and his sacrificial mistress in the care and nurture of the slaves within her jurisdiction, have obscured what might have been a realistic picture of human beings, and human relations, within a totally exploitative system. This system had in fact no place for the basic, character and education building institutions of the family, the church, and the school. They have left no record of their influence on the slave because there was none to leave. The education of the slave in literacy was forbidden by law. He could, therefore, write no records of his own life, whether those of religion, or of family structure. He had no family structure. He was a chattel, and no more written record was made of him than of the other chattels — the cattle, mules, and horses — who shared his status, and no written evidence remains that he ever had a human status. No one else troubled to keep such records; and so, the history of the families of the Negro doctorates we here record, is principally bereft of any but oral tradition, save for those very few who were free, and literate; or, so closely kin to their white master, that a fragment of their family history is preserved in their master's surviving documents.

It also became necessary to modify the planned comparison of the doctoral group, with their non-doctoral class-mates. From a list of 500 class-mates, we received when queried 247 replies. Perhaps one example of "difference" is that the questionnaire returned by the non-doctorates in few instances replied as fully to all questions, as did the doctorates. This limited adequate comparisons.

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— CHAPTER 2 —

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO SCHOLAR AND DOCTORATE

To be a scholar is to be one “. . . who has actively engaged in the advancement of knowledge through research or, at some levels, through the constructive administration of research.”¹ In the last century in America the attainment of the academic doctoral degree has become the badge of the man who has at least been admitted to the fraternity of those willing and able to engage in research, and claim the right to the title, “scholar.”

The foregoing Table 1-1 setting forth reconstruction of the historic social and economic status of the Negro population reveals that the soil was not propitious for the growth of a scholarly class. An added and ever-present factor has been that the few persons who had the capacity and skills to engage in scholarly pursuits in the Negro race — yesterday, and today — have felt the pressure of other demands so urgent as to preclude devotion to the scholarly life: they were frequently called upon to be “race leaders,” or, in educational circles, were such a rarity as to be drawn from research and study to administrative responsibilities.

The few examples in the 19th Century were exceptional not only in their attainments, but also in the family backgrounds they possessed. Benjamin Banneker had high attainments in mathematics and in astronomy; he corresponded with Thomas Jefferson who procured his appointment to Charles L’Enfant’s team, that laid out the District of Columbia. Banneker’s *Almanac* was highly regarded, as was his construction of a sidereal clock. His grandmother was an English-woman who married and emancipated one of her slaves; she taught Banneker to read and paid for his schooling.²

Only four Negroes had graduated from an American College by 1830. Edward A. Jones, whose wealthy white father sent him to Amherst College, graduated on August 19, 1826, eleven days before John B. Russwurm received his degree from Bowdoin. Both men migrated, Jones to Sierra Leone, where he became the founder of the Fourah Bay College (now the University College of Sierra Leone), and Russwurm to Liberia, where he continued his career as a newspaper editor.³

Two men professionally trained in medicine became notable scholars in the next generation. They were James McCune Smith and Martin R. Delany. Alexander Crummell, the ranking Negro scholar of the latter part of the nineteenth century, said that Dr. James McCune Smith was "undoubtedly the most learned Colored man in the United States" during Smith's lifetime. Educated first in the Free African School of New York City, Smith later enrolled in the University of Glasgow in Scotland, taking his M.D. degree in 1836. He returned to New York where he established a successful practice, gained a wide reputation as one of the first calculators of mortality rates for life insurance companies, and became a leading figure in the antislavery and "colored convention" movement.

He felt obliged to answer allegations of the physical and mental inferiority of his people then being made by such public figures as John C. Calhoun. He replied to Calhoun in such articles as "Comparative Anatomy of the Races" and "The Influence of Climate on Longevity, with Special Reference to Insurance."⁴

Martin R. Delany, a native of New York City, was educated, like Smith, in the African Free School of the city. He had a brief secondary school experience at the Canaan Academy in New Hampshire, which was destroyed by the townspeople when it admitted several Negro youth in 1831, and later at the Oneida Institute in upper New York State, where several distinguished Negroes received an education under the great schoolmaster Beriah Greene. Admitted to the Harvard University Medical School after several rebuffs from other institutions, he took his medical degree in 1852.

Delany acquired an international reputation as a scholar, became a member of the International Statistical Congress, of the National Association (British) for the Promotion of Social Science and of the Social Science Congress, Glasgow, Scotland. He practiced medicine in Pittsburgh, but the usual fate of the Negro made it necessary for him to enter the cause of racial polemics and advancement.⁵

Delany became a leader of the national convention movement of colored people. He immigrated to Canada, joining a large colony of expatriate free colored persons and escaped slaves. He helped organize an expedition to Nigeria, West Africa, in 1858, under the sponsorship of the National Emigration Society and the African Civilization Society. Delany's mission was successful; he negotiated treaties with the chiefs of Abeokuta, which granted land for prospective American Negro settlers and began plans for the expanded production of cotton in the region, the importation of cotton gins and the development

of a cotton export trade. His published *Report* has become one of the minor classics in the history and exploration of nineteenth-century Africa.⁶

During the Civil War, Delany was a medical officer in the Union Army with the rank of major; after the war he was commissioned justice of the peace in Charleston, South Carolina.

Scholarship is one aspect of the culture that does not grow in isolation, and the Negro scholar's opportunity to teach and study in an institution of higher learning was long deferred. Prejudice against the employment of Negroes in scholarly communities has inhibited the growth and development of Negro scholars even up to the end of World War II and beyond; at this writing, none of the newly integrated Southern colleges or universities has employed a full-time Negro instructor on any level. Even in the colleges for Negroes created after the Civil War, the majority of governing boards held stubbornly to the idea that "the time was not ripe" to employ Negro teachers. Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, founded in 1854, elected its first Negro professor in 1932. Howard University and Wilberforce University in the North and a handful of colleges in the South provided the extremely limited market in which the Negro scholar found an opportunity to use and expand his scholarship.

But there were rare exceptions, North and South. Limited elementary and secondary educational opportunities slowly appeared in the North that employed Negro scholars. Peter Williams, the first well-trained Negro Priest in the Protestant Episcopal Church, conducted a school in New York City as part of his parish duties (*circa* 1810). Among Charles C. Andrews' students at the African Free School were Ira Aldridge, the actor; Charles L. Reason, who became Professor of Belles Lettres and Mathematics in the New York Central College; Samuel Ringold N. Ward, an eloquent anti-slavery orator, and Alexander Crummell, who took a degree at Cambridge University in 1853. Dr. George F. Grant graduated from the Harvard University Dental School in 1870 and was made an instructor in the school in 1884. His reputation in his specialty — the treatment of the cleft palate and cognate malformations — was so widely established that he lectured by invitation in 1888 to the annual meeting of the British Dental Association. The serologist, William A. Hinton, became an instructor in the Harvard Medical School in 1915; but he did not attain professorial rank until 1949, the year before his retirement.

Berea College of Kentucky was an extraordinary institution founded in a slave state in 1856 on basic Christian principles, com-

mitting the college to a policy of integration. The institution was so conducted — board of trustees, faculty and student body — until 1907, when the United States Supreme Court upheld the Kentucky state law of 1904, requiring the segregation of the races. Atlanta University, after Wilberforce University, gave a home to the young scholar William E. B. DuBois; the numerous scholarly studies he published during his stay there from 1898 to 1910 testify that opportunity was essential. Although the institution he founded boasted its vocational purpose, Booker T. Washington attracted to Tuskegee Institute the ablest minds he could; the development there of the distinguished bibliographer Monroe N. Work was one of the greatest contributions ever made by a Negro institution to scholarship.

As late as 1946, according to Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins, there was opposition to the appointment of Negroes in the faculty of the University of Chicago; the head of the department of sociology, William F. Ogburn, a former president of the American Statistical Association and of the American Sociological Society, remonstrated because, he said, all of the white graduate students would withdraw. In a study made in 1961 of the employment of Negro teachers in colleges in New York City, Moss and Mercer state that it was not until after 1941 that Negroes began to be appointed in appreciable numbers to these institutions; their study lists fifty-two known to be so employed in 1961.⁷ As there were reported to be 44,791 persons teaching in colleges and universities in New York State during the 1961 spring term, Negroes thus constituted slightly more than one-tenth of one per cent of the total.

THE FORMATIVE YEARS

Alexander Crummell was born in New York City in 1819. He said that his father, Boston, had been a prince of the Timne tribe in Sierra Leone before being kidnapped and sold in America. As a boy, Crummell attended the New York African Free School. At the age of twelve, he was sent to an interracial school at New Canaan, New Hampshire, but was forced to leave when the townspeople burned the school building.

On learning of the New Canaan school's fate, the abolitionist headmaster of the Oneida Institute in New York State admitted Crummell and another Negro boy from New Canaan to his school. When he completed the course there, Crummell wished to study for the Episcopal ministry at the General Theological Seminary in New

York City, but his application was rejected because he was black. Persevering in his ambition to be a priest, he was aided by the young abolitionist John Jay; he studied in Boston, and was finally ordained to the Episcopalian priesthood in 1842.

He was not permitted to exercise his priestly functions in Philadelphia because Bishop Onderdonk demanded that Crummell accept a nonparticipating role for his parish in the affairs of the diocese. He finally found a parish in New York where he could be active and remained there until 1852. In that year he went to England where he enrolled at the Queens College, Cambridge University, and took a degree in 1853. Then Crummell went to Liberia where he found on the faculty of the College of Liberia some first-class minds that had been attracted to that outpost of freedom. The scholar Edward W. Blyden was among them.

Crummell returned to the United States after the American Civil War ended. He had the dream of organizing a group of younger Negroes who would apply scholarly methods to the task of elevating the Negro people. The result was the formation of the American Negro Academy, which held its inaugural meeting at Washington, D. C., on March 5, 1897.

Reviewing the circumstances of the organization of the academy, William H. Ferris wrote in 1920:

He (Crummell) proposed to found and establish the American Negro Academy, an organization composed of Negro scholars, whose membership should be limited to forty and whose purpose should be to foster scholarship and culture in the Negro race and encourage building Negro genius. He communicated with colored scholars in America, England, Haiti and Africa. The result was that in March, 1897, when McKinley was inaugurated, the most celebrated scholars and writers in the Negro race for the first time assembled together in the Lincoln Memorial Church and formally organized into a brotherhood of scholars. Dunbar, the poet, DuBois, the sociologist; Scarborough, the Greek scholar; Kelly Miller, the mathematician; Dr. Francis J. Frimke, the theologian; Prof. John W. Cromwell, the historian; President R. R. Wright (then President of the Georgia State College at Savannah), Principal Grisham (Principal of the Dunbar High School, Washington), Prof. Love and Prof. Walter B. Hayson, noted educators; Prof. G. C. Cook, the student of English Literature (and Professor in Howard University), and Bishop J. Albert Johnson, the brilliant preacher, were among those present. Bishop Tanner of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and two or three other bishops were enrolled as members, and such distinguished foreign Negroes as Prof. Harper were added as mem-

bers. The Academy seems destined to do for the Negro race what the French Academy did for France.⁸

Officers in 1897 were: S. G. Atkins, Principal, Slater Normal School, Winston - Salem, North Carolina; L. B. Moore (A.B., Fisk, 1889, Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 1896), Professor of Latin and Dean, Howard University; and W. H. Croghan (A. B., M.A., Atlanta University), President, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia.

Some of the other persons elected to membership in the academy were:

J. E. Moorland (YMCA executive, bibliophile), Anna Julia Cooper (1859-1964; the only woman ever elected a member of the Academy; A.B. Oberlin, 1884, Ph.D., Sorbonne, 1925; teacher of the classics and principal, M. Street High School); Edward C. Williams (Phi Beta Kappa, Western Reserve University; Principal, M. Street High School); L. Z. Johnson (A.B., A.M., S.T.B., Lincoln University, A.M., B.D., Princeton Theological Seminary, Professor, Howard University); Wendell P. Dabney (editor, bibliophile); Henry P. Slaughter (Bibliophile); Monroe N. Work (Director, Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute); Arthur A. Schomburg (book collector, antiquarian); John E. Bruce (Bibliophile); J. E. Kwegvir-Aggrey (then Professor, Livingstone College, later Vice Principal, Prince of Whales College, Achimota, Gold Coast); Carter G. Woodson (A.B., M.A., University of Chicago, Ph.D. Harvard University, Founder and Director, Association for the Study of Negro Life and History); George W. Cook (Professor, Dean, Howard University); and Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania).

The objectives and purposes of the academy as formulated by Crummell were:

For the Promotion of Literature, Science, and Art.

The Culture of a form of Intellectual Taste.

The Fostering of Higher Education.

The Defense of the Negro Against Vicious Assaults.

This statement of purpose was printed in each of the twenty-two "Occasional Papers" published by the Academy from 1897 to 1920.

The last objective proved to be the most important. The academy members continued to carry the old defensive burden of the Negro intellectual, from Benjamin Banneker's eighteenth-century letter to Thomas Jefferson, until well into the twentieth century. In a series of "Occasional Papers" they engaged in fierce scholarly polemics against race detractors.

The first paper published was Kelly Miller's *A Review of Hoffman's "Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro."* Hoffman,

a statistician for the Prudential Insurance Company of America, had published an analysis of Negro birth and death rates, concluding with the prophecy that the American Negro was on the road to certain extinction in three decades due to inherent biological inferiority.

The 113 percent growth of the Negro population from 1900, when it was 8,833,994, to 18,871,831 in 1960, is sufficient answer.

W. E. Burghardt DuBois' *The Conservation of the Races*, published in 1898, was the second "Occasional Paper." The young scholar had already made his mark with his *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*; he had before him another sixty-five years of active literary and scholarly production.

Illustrative of the intellectual thrust of these papers are their titles: *The Educated Negro and His Mission* (No. 8, William S. Scarborough); *Modern Industrialism and the Negro* (No. 11, Archibald H. Grimke); and *The Message of St. Domingo to the African Race* (Nos. 18-19, Theophilus G. Steward).

In this group of poets, pulpit orators, journalists and professors, there were at least three men whose work would find a place of highest distinction in their respective scholarly fields. They were: W. E. B. DuBois, Monroe N. Work, the bibliographer, and William S. Scarborough, Philologist. A fourth — Kelly Miller — showed promise in the field of mathematics, but was deterred by the urge to deal with pressing problems of Negro education. He became an outstanding educator and helped the American Negro Academy fulfill the dreams of its founder, Alexander Crummell.⁹

To the academy scholars, and to their thin and polemic pamphlets, must be credited a considerable influence on the intellectual life of the Negro during the first quarter of the twentieth century.

The American system has admired the man who rose from the bottom to the top, and it has had particular esteem for Negroes like Booker T. Washington, who came "up from slavery." An examination of the background of Negro intellectuals in any generation shows that such emergence is even more unlikely than among the whites.

Of the eighteen members of the American Negro Academy known to have been in attendance at the organization meeting in 1897, thirteen had been born before 1865. Eight of these thirteen had been born free — six in the United States, two in Canada. Five were born in a condition of slavery. But two of the five slave-born children were born into what might be called the "upper class" of the enslaved population and had extraordinarily special advantages over the ordinary slave child.

William S. Scarborough, one of the more privileged, was born at Macon, Georgia, in 1850. His father was a free artisan in Savannah, Georgia, who later moved to Macon to live. His mother was a literate slave, who enjoyed the extraordinary privilege of being paid a daily wage and of being permitted to live away from her master's house in her husband's home. Scarborough said of his mother that "... she lived in her own home and was able to give careful attention to her family, which never felt the harsh, restrictive features of the slave system." The father had progressed beyond the elementary school level; the mother was literate; an uncle taught the boy; his mother's master bought books for him, and a white neighbor gave him special tutoring. Before he was twelve, young Scarborough — nominally a slave — "... had mastered Webster's blue-backed speller, and studied arithmetic, geography, and history."¹⁰

Francis J. Grimke, the second, came from an equally favored slave background. Quite without embarrassment, this Presbyterian minister recounted in his autobiography that he was one of three sons of Henry Grimke, of an old aristocratic Charleston, South Carolina, family, and a beautiful slave, Nancy Weston. The claim was recognized by Grimke's famous abolitionist aunt, Angelina Grimke-Weld, who discovered her nephews enrolled at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, assisted them through college, and sponsored Archibald through Harvard Law School and Francis through the Princeton Theological Seminary. Biographical information is lacking regarding the other three "slave-born" scholars of the American Negro Academy.

Neither literacy nor skills are inherited, but this has not prevented racists from ascribing Negro scholarship to heredity. Noting that a number of Negroes who have attained distinction are of mixed racial extraction, the school of racists insists that the "white blood" is the cause. Carleton Putnam, one of this school of opinion, claims the scientist George Washington Carver as a representative of this group, stating that Carver's white blood "is proven by his blue eyes." While one person who knew Carver agrees that he did have blue eyes, others who knew him equally deny it, and a physician who treated him in his declining years stated that Carver suffered from *arcis senilis*, an affliction arising from high blood pressure in the aged that accentuates the whitish-bluish color of the iris and creates the illusion of "blue eyes." The British racist, R. Ruggles Gates, widely quoted by American segregationists, even proposed the theory that there is a "sex-influenced gene for intelligence" as an explanation for a high number of high intelligence quotients reported for one Negro family.

George Washington Carver was reared by a German couple in Missouri that cared for him after his mother was kidnaped, and, says the social environment theory, he must have absorbed from these foster parents their habits and attitudes toward work and study; this environment was much more important to his future career as student and scientist than his alleged "white blood." These theorists believe that the "slave elite" circumstances of William S. Scarborough's mother and his free colored father were much more vital to his future than the curious melange of racial "bloods" the scholar described in his autobiography. Social circumstances and education were far more significant in the emergence of Francis J. Grimké as a scholar than the fact that he was carrying the genes of his grandfather, Judge John Faucheraud Grimké, of the South Carolina Supreme Court. The social environment theory, as contrasted to the theory of "white blood," is the basic theme of this section.

Early Negro scholars, then, were derived overwhelmingly from what one can identify as a Negro "upper class" — even among slaves. The free colored population in the United States numbered 488,070 in 1860, or 10 per cent of what came to be identified as the "Negro" population. The scholars were largely derived from this class and from the favored slaves. Such favored slaves were frequently related to the white master by kinship and by occupation, and thus more likely than the Negro field hand to receive elementary instruction, to observe and imitate and absorb the standard culture and to receive material assistance in obtaining both a sound economic base and an education from their masters before or their ex-masters after the Civil War.

Small as they were numerically and proportionately in the Negro mass, this small group of former "upper" class slaves — "upper" in relation only to the mass of enforced poverty and illiteracy most of the freedmen represented — provided the narrow apex of the flattened pyramid from which a middle class and emerging scholars could be built after the Civil War. Occupationally, the professions of school teaching and the ministry gave employment to the daughters and sons of the already literate and increasingly to the new literates.

The children of the old upper class and the children of the impoverished freedmen alike were welcomed in the mission schools and colleges created in the South's various mission societies after the Civil War. In some of these institutions the large number of light-complexioned students was so noticeable as to arouse the curiosity of visitors. The phenomenon was not due, as many believed, to the

"superiority" of the white blood, it was a social and economic, rather than a natural selection. Concubinage remained an openly sustained relationship between white men and Negro women in the South for fifty years after the Civil War; the children of such unions were more likely to have parents, with the money and the tradition, to send a child to school, than the former field hand slaves who were now sharecroppers and day laborers.

In addition the Federal Civil Service in all cities, especially in Washington, provided a steady employment for a growing class of literate Negroes, even though those so hired were frequently "under-employed" in terms of their actual abilities.

The mission schools have been derided by many critics. The Yankee teachers, it has been said, were not realistic in their curricula, nor in their appraisal of the basic needs of the recently emancipated former slaves. The schools were frequently called "colleges" and "universities," when their enrollments were concentrated on the elementary and secondary school level. Instead of carrying on a practical education, designed to meet the illiterate and unskilled on their own level, they boasted courses of study taken directly from the programs of New England colleges, replete with Latin, Greek and the higher mathematics.¹¹

These critics miss several important points necessary to the evaluation of an educational institution. One, that the process of education is a long time one, requiring for final judgment on its outcome the entire life and career of the subject, further the effect of the educational process as transmitted to the entire community cannot be judged until it can be viewed from the perspective of generations. Another consideration is often omitted in the criticism of these institutions. For every "college" student actually graduated, these schools gave a thorough elementary and secondary education to scores of students who in their turn passed on, through family and friends, their knowledge of the fundamentals and their acquired habits and discipline. Their children and grandchildren did not have to "start from scratch," in an illiterate home and a wretched school or in no school at all.

Based on the academic successes of first, second and even third generation descendants of the students of the early mission schools, available evidence suggests that these institutions provided for Southern Negroes some of the most effective educational institutions the world has ever known. The Negro scholars today are, for the most

part, the children and grandchildren of persons who received their education in these institutions.

In addition, one needs to consider the excellent schools located in many Northern communities; the Great Barrington High School in Massachusetts, of which DuBois said:

My high school principal was Frank Hosmer, afterward president of Oahu College, Hawaii. He suggested, quite as a matter of fact, that I ought to take the college preparatory course which involved algebra, geometry, Latin and Greek . . . I did not then realize that Hosmer was quietly opening college doors to me, for in those days they were barred with ancient tongues.¹²

Two other examples are the Central High School in Philadelphia which helped start Alain Leroy Locke, the philosopher, on his scholarly way; and Kimball Academy, in New Hampshire, where Ernest E. Just, the biologist, prepared for Dartmouth after his arrival from South Carolina (indeed, South Carolina gave him a good beginning in a missionary school).

Most instructive in the art of developing the Negro scholar is the example of M. Street High School and its successor, Paul Laurence Dunbar High School, in Washington, D. C.¹³ M. Street began operation in 1870. From the first it followed the policy of employing the best-prepared teachers available. The salaries paid were on the Federal scale, and were far superior to those prevailing for teachers anywhere else in the country, even if positions had been available to Negro teachers, as they were not. M. Street, and after it, Dunbar, took the pick of the crop of brilliant young Negroes who had graduated from the best colleges in the country.

Miss Mary Jane Patterson, whose graduation from Oberlin College in 1862 made her the first Negro woman college graduate in the United States, was principal from 1870-71 and from 1873-74. Richard T. Greener, who in 1870 became the first Negro to take an A.B. at Harvard, was principal from 1871-72. Francis L. Cardozo was principal from 1884-96; he had studied in the University of Glasgow and the London School of Theology. (As Secretary of State for South Carolina from 1868-72 and state treasurer from 1872-76, his bitterest enemies during the vicious struggles of the Reconstruction period acknowledged that he was the best-educated man in South Carolina).

W. Scott Montgomery, of Dartmouth; Robert H. Terrell, of Harvard; Anna J. Cooper, of Oberlin; W. T. S. Jackson, of Amherst; E. C. Williams, Phi Beta Kappa from Western Reserve; and Garnet C. Wilkinson, of Oberlin, were other principals of M. Street, and Dunbar.

The DuBois-Booker T. Washington controversy over "industrial education" came to a head during Mrs. Cooper's principalship (*circa* 1910). She aligned herself with the DuBois group and succeeded in keeping M. Street's curriculum that of the standard college preparatory school of the time.

The teachers joined the administration of the school in insisting upon the highest standards of achievement, in urging and assisting their students to emulate their own academic success. Tutorials were organized to help the most promising students with their college board examinations. The faculty solicited scholarships from their alma maters, the finest New England colleges and Oberlin; in Washington, they organized fund-raising campaigns to supplement the scholarships offered. Through these devices, several graduates of M. Street, and later of Dunbar, were annually sent to such colleges as Amherst, Dartmouth, Harvard, Oberlin, Radcliffe, Wellesley, Williams, Vassar and Yale.

The results are now apparent. M. Street and Dunbar have contributed to the ranks of Negro scholars in medicine, in law, in engineering, generally in the arts and sciences, to a truly extraordinary degree.

Data on the other high schools attended by Negro academic doctorates is available only for 609 who took their doctoral degrees from 1957 to 1962. This group completed their high school work at the latest in 1955, and for the most part, before 1952. Out of 360 high schools from which these doctorates graduated, one — Dunbar — produced sixteen or 2.62 per cent. Two schools produced nine each — Frederick Douglass High School, Baltimore, Maryland, and McDonogh 25 High School in New Orleans, Louisiana. Other high producers were Lincoln (Kansas City, Missouri) and Booker T. Washington (Atlanta, Georgia), with eight each; and Tuskegee Institute High School (Tuskegee, Alabama), and Anderson High School, Austin, Texas, with seven each.

High mobility in urban populations since 1955 makes any effort to "rate" these and other predominantly Negro high schools on the basis of excellence as measured by later doctoral productivity meaningless. It is interesting to note, however, that 5.2 per cent of these high schools produced 20.8 per cent of the doctorates. It is significant also that each of the schools listed above has long had high academic tradition in its respective city and has been the principal college preparatory high school for Negroes, enrolling numbers of children of middle class, professional and semiprofessional occupations.

The Pioneers: Negro Academic Doctorates and Their Proportion in The Community of Scholars

Although the academic doctorate awarded by European universities had been the badge of scholarly attainment for centuries, it was not until 1866 that Yale became the first American University to offer the degree. The year of 1876 marking the organization of John Hopkins University, is generally accepted as the actual initiation in America of university studies on the graduate level.

Edward S. Bouchet, who received the doctor of philosophy degree at Yale, in Physics, in 1876, has been considered the first American Negro to receive a doctorate.¹⁴ However, Father Patrick Francis Healy, S. J., born in 1834 near Macon, Georgia, of a white father and a Negro mother, received this degree from the University of Louvain, Belgium, in 1865. Patrick Healy attended Holy Cross College, in Worcester, Massachusetts, received a dispensation from the Vatican for his legally enforced illegitimacy, since the laws of Georgia did not permit his parents to marry, and entered the Jesuit order. He was an instructor in Holy Cross, studied for the priesthood in Rome, took his doctorate at Louvain and became an instructor at Georgetown University in 1867, a professor in 1868, and was inaugurated as president of the nation's oldest Catholic institution of higher learning in 1873. Ill-health forced his resignation in 1882; he is credited with having made the institution a true university, and is remembered as the "second founder" of Georgetown.¹⁵

The number of Negro academic doctorates grew slowly. Two of the first forty members of the American Negro Academy, founded in 1897, had earned the degree. Both were graduates of Fisk University: W. E. B. DuBois, 1888 (Harvard Ph.D., 1896) and Lewis B. Moore, Ph. D., Pennsylvania, 1896. Harry Washington Greene's careful listing of Negro doctorates goes up to the year 1943. Data from a study of the American doctorate, made available to the writer by the National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council, reveals that approximately 1,500 graduates of predominantly Negro colleges received doctorates between 1920 and 1962 (Tables 2-1, 1-2). The elimination by law of racial designations in reporting race of graduates, as enacted since World War II in the major doctorate-producing states, makes it impossible to enumerate the total number of Negro academic doctorates since the time of Greene's report. Those who graduated from Negro colleges can be counted, but those who took their first degrees at integrated institutions cannot with any degree of ease.

The percentage of Negro doctorates educated in Negro colleges exceeds 1.0 per cent of the total number in only three major academic fields. These are: Education (2.19 per cent), Religion and Theology (1.14 per cent), and Agricultural Sciences (1.03 per cent). The addition of those Negroes who earned undergraduate degrees in integrated colleges, and later academic doctorates, would perhaps double the numbers and percentages in all of the major fields listed with the exception of education; there would be, for example, twice as many persons in the physical and natural sciences, and larger numbers and proportions in social sciences and in education. Of the ten physicists

TABLE 2-1
PRODUCTION OF NEGRO ACADEMIC DOCTORATES COMPARED
TO ALL AMERICAN ACADEMIC DOCTORATES¹⁶

Five-Year Periods	All American Doctorates	Doctorates From Negro Colleges	Negro Doctorates Integrated Colleges	Total Negro Doctorates	Productivity Ratio White to Each Negro Doctorate
	(Not Known)	...			(Not Known)
(1866-1879)	...	...	2	22	...
1880-1884	218	...	...	...	
1885-1889	348	1	1	2	174 to 1
1890-1894	877	...	1	1	877 to 1
1895-1899	1,247	2	1	3	415 to 1
1900-1904	1,277	1	...	1	1,277 to 1
1905-1909	1,748	1	2	3	582 to 1
1910-1914	2,264	3	...	3	754 to 1
1915-1919	2,760	4	4	8	345 to 1
1920-1924	4,186	4	13	17	245 to 1
1925-1929	7,703	5	27	32	240 to 1
1930-1934	11,928	28	42	70	170 to 1
1935-1939	13,658	56	53	109	125 to 1
(1940-1943)	12,761	96	39	135	94 to 1
1940-1944	14,700	109	53 (est.)*	162 (est.)*	90 to 1
1945-1949	15,855	164	88 (est.)	252 (est.)	62 to 1
1950-1954	38,644	334	179 (est.)	513 (est.)	75 to 1
1955-1959	44,170	445	239 (est.)	684 (est.)	64 to 1
(1960-1962)	32,675	312	168 (est.)	480 (est.)	68 to 1

*The estimates are based on the assumption that 35 percent of the doctorates earned by Negroes since 1940 have been awarded to persons who earned undergraduate degrees at integrated institutions. While the Negro population in those states affording integrated higher education has greatly increased since 1940, the Negro enrollment in the major doctorate-producing undergraduate colleges has remained extremely small. While no statistics are available, largely because of Fair Educational Practices laws, testimony of teachers and administrators in the New York City colleges, that are among the Nation's largest undergraduate sources of doctoral degrees, is that Negroes probably constitute less than one percent of the enrollment of these institutions. A recent (1962) study of Negro enrollment in Pennsylvania colleges, made by William H. Gray, similarly indicates a very small enrollment of Negroes in those colleges.

listed in Greene's early study, seven came from predominantly white Northern colleges; and in mathematics, five of seven. On the other hand, institutions with well-equipped physics laboratories and excellent faculties in the field, such as Fisk and Howard Universities, have good records in the production of physicists. Howard University, Johnson C. Smith University, Fisk University, Morehouse College and Lincoln University have creditable records in chemistry and the biological sciences. Possible improvement in equipment and faculty and a change in the choice of careers may be indicated by the fact that twenty-five of the ninety-eight chemists reported to be graduates of Negro colleges, and fifty-three of the 184 persons in the biological sciences, received their doctorates in the brief period from 1960-62.

TABLE 2-2
THE NUMBER OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES IN THE MAJOR
FIELDS WHERE THEY EARNED DOCTORATES, 1920-1962,
COMPARED TO THE TOTAL NUMBER OF AMERICAN
DOCTORATES IN THESE FIELDS

Major Fields of Study	Total 1920-1962	Number Negro 1920-1962	Percent Negroes
Mathematics	4,942	23	0.46
Physics and Astronomy	9,618	17	0.17
Chemistry	23,697	98	0.41
Earth Sciences	3,743	2	0.02
Engineering	10,209	3	0.03
Total, Physical Sciences	52,209	143	0.27
Agricultural Sciences	5,122	53	1.03
Medical Sciences	1,775	13	0.73
Biological Sciences	31,829	184	0.57
Total, Natural Sciences	84,038	250	0.29
Psychology	11,080	65	0.58
Social Sciences (Total, Includ- ing Psychology)	35,052	290	0.82
Humanities	(Not Available)	124	0.81
Business Administration	1,722	14	
Home Economics	(Not Available)	7	
Journalism	(Not Available)	3	
Law	(Not Available)	5	
Library and Archival	2,892	3	1.14
Religion and Theology	26,363	33	2.19
Education		579	

Source: Same as table 2-1.

American Negro scholars in the physical sciences, in life sciences, in the social sciences and in the humanities may be found today making respectable scholarly contributions to the broad spectrum of human knowledge. They will be found in our universities and medical centers, in laboratories of government and private industry, in the field, and both here and abroad. Their number is small; but in some instances their scholarship ranks with the best scholarly contributions in the world. It is all too true, as a great scientist, Charles Richard Drew, has pointed out, that many of these scientists are handicapped with the pittance paid them, heavy teaching loads they carry, and inadequate laboratory or library facilities. Yet among them, Drew observed, are "true scholars . . . the vast majority spend lives of diligent searching guided by rigid intellectual discipline, and lead on much in the nature of the artist and dreamer toward new creative goals."¹⁷

*A Summary of the Negro as Scholar: One-Tenth of the Nation,
Perhaps One Per Cent of the Scholars*

The scarcity of Negro scholars in the American intellectual community throws into sharp relief not the deficiencies of the Negro intellect, but the imperfections of a system that now produces perhaps one per cent of its greatest human asset from one-tenth of its population.

The scholar, in general, is likely to be that person whose early surroundings gave him — painlessly — the advantages of facility in the use of the written, spoken word and in other primary concepts basic to the learning process. Several generations of literacy are the usual endowment of the scholar, whether in Europe or in America.

By contrast, the Negro scholar had to emerge from a setting where, as short a time ago as two generations before, illiteracy was the rule enforced by savage laws proscribing the instruction of this part of the population. At Emancipation and up to the last two decades, the public school instruments designed to repair a state of almost universal illiteracy were of a disgracefully inadequate and ineffective kind. For a scholar to emerge from such a social and educational system would be unlikely; Negro scholars did not. They have emerged where, almost fortuitously, an unusual social setting and unusual formal educational institutions — such as those provided by the "Yankee schoolmarm" — provided an educational foundation in earlier times to some few scholars themselves, or to the grandparents and parents of the prospective scholar.

The budding scholar also needs economic security, first to support him in his preparatory studies; and second, to sustain him during tedious and extended nonprofitable pursuit of the researches that attract him. Such support came infrequently to the prospective Negro scholar; poverty was the order of his family and community life and of his racial group. Few could surmount this deficiency; those who did were likely to be men of the most indomitable purpose with a great capacity for hard work and tremendous self-sacrifice.

The gestating scholar requires the advantages of an excellent education all along the line: elementary school, secondary school, college and university. This advantage few Negroes have had; hence, few scholars.

Obviously, only the massive administration of fundamental remedial measures in each of these areas can be expected to affect the present rate of productivity of scholars from the Negro community. There are now (1965) some faint few signs that ameliorating circumstances are in sight. Scholarship, however, is a plant of long culture, measured by generations; profound changes in the present contribution made by American Negroes to the American and world communities of scholars are not soon to be expected.¹⁷

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— CHAPTER 3 —

FAMILY ORIGINS

I. INTRODUCTION

In our list of birthplaces of the 517 doctorates from whom autobiographies were accumulated (See Appendix), a number of clusters by counties will be observed. To a considerable extent, this geographical phenomenon is due to the fact that we are dealing with families.

There is, for example, the prodigious Daniel family of Dinwiddie County, Virginia, representing a family in which four brothers and one sister earned academic doctorates. There are the Curtis and Childs families — themselves related — whose roots are in Perry County, Alabama. There are numerous brother siblings, such as the Harrison brothers, whose roots are in Pike County, Mississippi, and the adjoining “Florida Parishes” across the border in Louisiana. There are the Clement-Steele relatives of Iredell and Rowan counties, North Carolina; the Colson’s, of Dinwiddie and Henrico counties, Virginia; there is Othelia Cromwell, one of the first female Negro doctorates, and her neice, Adelaide Cromwell Hill, now on the Boston University faculty, and the granddaughter of the distinguished school principal and historian, John W. Cromwell, who helped found the American Negro Academy in 1897.

There are sister combinations, such as Emma White Bragg, and Edmonia White Davison, natives of Nashville (Davidson county), Tennessee; and Charity Mance and Louise Rose Mance Adams, of Greenwood County, South Carolina, and Youra and Ima Qualls of Red River County, Texas. There are no less than 37 instances of paired siblings — brother and brother, brother and sister, sister and sister — in our limited collection; the number of other relationships within extended family groupings, suggests that the production of academic doctorates in the Negro population has a close relationship with family lines — either of “blood”, or of culture. Let us, therefore, examine the history of the family in the Negro population, and of some of the families concerned in our study.

II. THE HISTORY OF THE NEGRO FAMILY

To all intents and purposes, the family as an effective social unit

among the imported African slaves was one of the first casualties of the institution of chattel slavery. The practice of the slave trade was to recruit labor where it was available, without any consideration of the individual or of his past associations or ties beyond his potential capacity to provide labor for his new masters. The institution fostered and encouraged only those activities that made the individual a more useful, and profitable, investment; slave breeding was one such activity, but family building was not.

The pioneer studies of the sociologist, E. Franklin Frazier — who, before his death in 1961, submitted his autobiography for the purposes of this study — have not been surpassed for their penetration and insightful analysis. Frazier described first the plight of the Negro slave, and mother, “In the House of the Master”; what it meant to follow the duties and obligations of “Motherhood in Bondage,” and to see repeated on a mass scale the tragedy of “Hagar and Her Children.” Thus the Negro family became a description of the life of a people “In the House of the Mother”; with “Broken Bonds” and “Unfettered Motherhood” leading to a perverted system of matriarchy, with “Granny” becoming “the Guardian of the Generations.”¹ The slow development of a class of Free Negroes, and an eventual “Emancipation” of sorts, led some to live “in the House of the Father”; the “Sons of the Free”, or almost free, began the first faltering and painfully scarce families possessing conventional stability like that characteristic of the vast majority of American homes and families; there were even developed infrequent islands of conformist “Black Puritans”, practicing and professing a rigid conformity with the Victorian moral code as exemplary as any of their fellows, of whatever racial persuasion.

But for the greatest number, mobility induced by war and industrialization propelled the great masses of the people into what became “the City of Destruction”, peopled with “Roving Men and Homeless Women;” with “Fathers on Leave”, “Outlawed Motherhood”, and “Rebellious Youth.” In a book published in 1939, Frazier reported tables for the ratio of illegitimate births ranging since 1900 to 1929, in a city such as Baltimore, Maryland, from a high of 4.5% among whites in 1911, to a low of 1.4% in 1929; in the same years, the illegitimacy rate for Negroes in the same city ranged from a high of 29.3% in 1901, to a low of 20.3% in 1927, with 1929 showing a rate of 21.5% in the Negro population.² A study thought to be “sensational”, and published in 1965, displayed a table showing non-white illegitimacy rates in 1962 to range from a low of 12.8% in

Seattle, Washington, to a high of 35.6% in Memphis.³ To those acquainted with Frazier's earlier work, there was nothing "shocking" in this *Report*: it was a confirmation of the statement made by Ernest W. Burgess' "*Editor's Preface*", that "Never before in the recorded history of mankind has the family life of a people, in so short a period, experienced so great and so sudden dislocations, necessitating adjustment to new and unforeseen situations.⁴ More shocking, perhaps, was the fact that it had taken 26 years after Frazier's book to bring to maturity the idea that the case of "*The Negro Family*" was worthy of a government publication sub-titled "The Case for National Action."

The history of the Negro family has been a continuing one of "dislocations and "adjustments", made "necessary", initially, by the disorganizing effects of the institution of chattel slavery; and, subsequently, by what must be soberly accounted as one of the most disruptive and deteriorative social systems that, as Burgess suggested, must have been rare in "the history of recorded mankind."

III. FAMILIES THAT REMEMBER

In his book Frazier insisted that the break with the African past had all but completely obliterated, among Negro families in the United States, memories of the African background.

These scraps of memories, which form only an insignificant part of the growing body of traditions in Negro families, are what remains of the African heritage. Probably never before in history has a people been so nearly completely stripped of its social heritage as the Negroes who were brought to America. Other conquered races have continued to worship their household gods within the intimate circle of their kinsmen. But American slavery destroyed household gods and dissolved the bonds of sympathy and affection between men of the same blood and household . . .⁵

In our study, we have encountered a number of family legends that refer to the African background, testifying that "forgotten memories" are, perhaps, better preserved than Frazier could admit. Two among these have a kind of authenticity that go beyond oral tradition and "legend"; and one can be documented, perhaps as the first such Negro American family in contemporary records. We turn now to a description of these two families; in their record may be found some hint as to how persons of "unusual academic talent" may be developed from apparently "underprivileged" populations.

A. A *Legendary African Princess*

Three of those submitting autobiographies are lineal descendants

of a young African girl who is said to have been abducted from a French ship, by an American privateer about 1748.

The three doctorates submitting autobiographies and family histories, descendants of "The Princess", are: William Childs Curtis, Ph.D., Harvard University, in Engineering and Physics; Dr. Curtis is a Senior Research Engineer for RCA, Lexington, Massachusetts; Lucien Simington Curtis (a cousin), Ph.D., University of Chicago, in Economics; formerly Professor, Harris Teachers College, St. Louis, Mo.; another cousin, Anna Porter Burrell, Ph.D., Psychology and Human Relations, New York. Another cousin is William Henry Hastie, Phi Beta Kappa, Amherst, Sc.J.D., Harvard University; Judge, Third Federal District Court of Appeals.

The girl, according to the legend, was being sent from the Island of Madagascar to France, where she was to receive a convent education. She was brought to Philadelphia, and sold into slavery in Virginia, where she was presented as a wedding present to a bride at a ceremony performed in Norfolk in 1749. She became the property of Thomas Burke, who moved from Virginia to Hillsboro, North Carolina, where he became the first Governor of North Carolina after the assumption of independence.

The reconstruction of the family history here set forth has necessitated the cooperation of the descendants, and considerable research in the National Archives in Washington, and the State and county Archives of Alabama, North Carolina, and Virginia. Mr. Arthur Childs of Atlanta has been an indefatigable co-researcher on the roots of this family. Another helper has been Mr. William Poellnitz Johnston, of Birmingham, Alabama; a thorough family historian of a family history that includes the association of his white family with the "Princess" and her descendants, many of whom were owned by Mr. Johnston's forbears. Mr. Johnston reports that the legend of the "Princess" was preserved in his immediate family; and even includes the story, that when the "Princess" was brought first to the Virginia plantation where she began her career as a slave, the other slaves acknowledged her royal origin and gave her the respectful homage due one of her background.

Professor Deschamps, Professor of African History at the Sorbonne, and a specialist in Madagascar history, wrote in answer to an inquiry about the probability of the legend, under date of August 18, 1964,

" . . . Votre histoire Le princesse Malgache envoyée faire son education en France puis capturée par un corsaire Americain et devenue l'origine d'une famille Le Virginie a n'est pas absolument invraisemblablement."

Professor Deschamps went on to mention one case, where the Madagascar student was sent to England, and returned to found a dy-

nasty of the Island. It should also be noted that the practice of sending African youth to Europe for an education during the eighteenth Century was much more common than has been imagined; Christopher Fyfe (see following reference in *A History of Sierra Leone*, p. 11, London: Oxford University Press, 1962) says that the practice of sending the children of Sierra Leone royalty and the children of English traders by African women, to England for schooling, was a common one. There were fifty such children in Liverpool in 1789, and others in other English cities.

The wills of Governor Thomas Burke (Orange County, North Carolina, Wills, 1753-1819, Vol. I, p. 32), and of Captain Francis Childs (Orange County Will Book B, p. 204), are of interest (See, North Carolina Archives). One, Maria, believed by William P. Johnston to have been the "Princess", was left to Burke's daughter, Mary, in a will dated November 14, 1783. The name of Maria occurs again in a will dated July 4, 1792, left by Captain Francis Child, who was Burke's brother-in-law, having married sisters (Freeman's). We believe that the "Maria" mentioned in these wills was the "Princess", and that the mother of Patsey, born in 1805, who numbered the numerous brood that was carried to Alabama when the various white families from the Orange County, North Carolina, community, — the Childs, the Webb's, and Mary Burke Freeman — moved there in 1835.

Through the wills of Governor Burke, who died in 1784, and of his widow's second husband, who died in 1792, it is possible to trace this woman to the appearance of her grand-daughter, Patsy Freeman, who appears in the Census of 1850 as "Patsy Freeman", a free woman. Another family legend states that Patsy had ten children, including seven girls and three boys. The girls were skilled seamstresses, and earned money by sewing and tailoring uniforms for a military school for boys located at Hillsboro. They finally earned enough money to purchase their mother's freedom, and that of their baby sister, named Nancy. In 1835 the entire slave family was taken to Marion, in Perry County, Alabama; leaving behind their mother, and Nancy. In 1852, Patsy took her daughter Nancy to Oberlin, Ohio; Patsy died at Oberlin in 1859, the date and occasion being notable because, a large woman, she was buried in a coffin that had been prepared for John Copeland, one of John Brown's men killed at Harper's Ferry.

We do know that Father William Montgomery Jackson was born at Oberlin, Ohio, in 1854, the son of Andrew Jackson, b. 1828, and Nancey Freeman, born in 1834. We know, also, that Nancey Freeman was the daughter of Patsey Freeman, and of William Freeman; and, judging from the 1850 Census Report, Patsey was born in 1805. If the "Princess" was sold into slavery in 1748 or 1749, she was scarcely the mother of Patsey, who must have been her grand-

daughter, the child of the "child" mentioned in the 1792 Will of Captain Frances Child. Father Jackson, therefore, must have been the "Great-Great-Great-Grandson" of the Madagascar "King" who was the father of the "Princess", also called Maria; his account misses one generation.

Father William Montgomery Jackson attended Oberlin College, as did several of his brothers and sisters. His branch of the family has produced several generations of school and college teachers, physicians, and other professionals. But our concern here is with the descendants of the other children of Patsey Freeman, who were taken in slavery to Perry County, Alabama, while the emancipated mother took her baby daughter, Nancey, to Oberlin, Ohio, with her.

The search for the roots of these families has followed a tedious path of confirming oral tradition and legend through laborious and time-consuming research. The search is an illuminating education in the true social brutality of the institution of chattel slavery; and in the implications of the "Peculiar Institution" for the acculturation and education of future generations that were involved in it. For all of their exotic history, these particular families had unusual endowments; circumstances that gave them a motivational tradition of sorts; circumstances that gave them contact, and daily association, with relatively well-educated, cultured, members of their communities; and direct advantages of the best education, through informal means, and even in formal ways, available to a slave population; and for Patsey's one child, Nancey, and for Nancey's children, the advantages of education in a community affording the best example of the American culture then available. For, as we shall see, the children of Patsey's enslaved children, in Alabama, were to receive the benefits of a New England, Puritan education, quite as excellent in Perry County, Alabama, as did Patsey's grand-children who were born and educated in the Oberlin community.

The great mass of the slaves had neither a family history, nor even a family of indifferent sorts. One should essay tracing the history of a typical Negro family, and contrast the task with that of doing similar genealogical research for a typical white American family. Even in the United States Census, the names of Free Negroes only were recorded during antebellum times. The only genealogies of animals kept in the ante-bellum Slave South were those of pedigreed horse racing stock, or in occasional cases, those of prized hound dogs. The Negro slaves were unrecorded animals. This fact of life, together with enforced illiteracy, may help explain both the scarcity of Negro academic doctorates, and the wide-spread contemporary disorganization of the Negro family.⁶

In their new setting in Alabama, Patsey Freeman's children remained in that top-most level of slave society — the "house servants." The town of Marion was the intellectual Capitol of Alabama. There were seven different educational institutions located there; it is even recorded by Mrs. William K. Payne, the widow of the late President

of the Savannah State College, and whose father had been educated in a Baptist academy and in the "Colored People's University" for Alabama established in the city during Reconstruction (now, the Alabama State College at Montgomery), that her grandmother, — a Simington — attended classes at the Judson Seminary with the young white girls for whom she was a companion; and was used, by the teachers, to shame the little white girls because of her aptness in class.

The Freeman girls married well, principally to other house servants. One was married to James Childs, a crippled man whose white father had assured his livelihood by apprenticing him to the trade of leather-working and shoe-maker. He must also have seen to it, that the boy was taught to read and to write. If Marion is a true sample, more Negro slaves — particularly, the house servant class and the skilled craftsmen, were more literate than has been thought. Living in households of cultivated white people was in itself a form of the process of acculturation. The Negroes of Marion, led by Alexander H. Curtis, in 1866 formed a school corporation, with a board elected by the vote of all the Negroes in the town. In 1867, the Board deeded its property to the American Missionary Association, the arm of the Congregational Church in founding and developing a chain of missionary schools, staffed largely by young women belonging to the Church from New England and the Middle West. The Deed, preserved in the Archives of the American Mission Association now deposited in the Library of Fisk University, shows that six of the nine Board members signed their names, while three signed by making a cross. It is doubtful that this amount of literacy had been newly gained in the short period following the end of the Civil War.⁷

Alexander H. Curtis, a barber, had been a slave of a local spinster who permitted him to operate a shop of his own, and shared the profits with him. It is recorded that he left Marion to go to New York in 1859, reappearing in two years, as the Civil War began, as a free man. It is probable that he used this period to gain his "free papers" in New York, as Alabama law had made it increasingly difficult to execute manumission papers.

After the war, Curtis appeared as the civic and political leader of the newly enfranchised Negroes. He was elected from Perry County to the Constitutional Convention of 1867; a fellow member was John Silsby, a missionary from Iowa who had before served under the American Board in Siam. Silsby was a member of the Education Committee of the Convention; he was doubtless responsible for the fact that the Iowa constitutional section dealing with Education,

adopted in 1857, was copied, word-for-word, and incorporated in the revised Alabama Constitution. Silsby was later listed as a member of the faculty of a "State Normal School and University for the Colored Race," established at Marion; A. H. Curtis was made a member of the Board of Trustees.⁸

Martha Freeman, the youngest Freeman child to be brought to Alabama, married James Childs, the crippled leather-worker. Their eight children included Stephen, who married Julia Godwin; their daughter, Julia Gertrude, married William Parrish Curtis, born in 1865, the son of Alexander H. Curtis and of Princess Webb Freeman. A daughter of Patsey, Princess Webb was named for the legendary "African" Princess, and given the last name of the family — Webb — in which she had become a slave when, after removal to Alabama, financial reverses to the original slave-owning families required a dispersal of the Freeman slaves; it appears that they were kept within the community.

Some of the proliferations and inter-connections of these families are shown in the accompanying charts (See Appendix, Family Charts). Implicit in our discussion have been several factors that may have been involved in the unusual development of educated and able persons from these family strains.

First, is the morale factor that came from the knowledge that they were closely related by blood ties to intelligent and cultivated white persons. These ties were openly acknowledged by the white community, and there was a consensus of opinion that the mixed population was superior by inheritance to the suppressed parental group. This group morale factor has developed everywhere in the world where the conjuncture of two basically diverse racial groups has produced an intermediate group; among the "coloreds" of South Africa, the Sino-Europeans of China, the Anglo-Indians of India, and the "Colored" (mulatto) elements in the West Indies and South America. These marginal peoples were thought to be "better", they were treated as though better, and they came to regard themselves as a superior sub-caste.⁹

In this particular set of circumstances, the morale factor resulting from the "Princess" legend may have been particularly effective. The white people, as we have noted, believed it; in a South that was based on notions of an inherited aristocracy and "gentility", such legends may have been a strong motivating factor on the aspirations of all concerned.

There is another factor of a curiously associated set of circum-

stances that deserves consideration. The children of Princess Webb Freeman, of Martha Freeman, and of Nancey Freeman, all did well academically; and so did a number of their descendants, although they were separated at an early age; and Nancey was taken to a distant part of the country, in the climate and atmosphere of an "extreme", abolitionist, anti-slavery community — Oberlin, Ohio — while the other children grew up, and were married, in a Slave state.

The common denominator in the lives of their children, and grandchildren, may have been the fact that those children — whether in Alabama, or in Ohio — were exposed to educational regimes with identical objectives, ideologies, and types of teachers. For while Oberlin was Oberlin, the Lincoln Normal School became a carbon copy of the educational institutions, at least on the elementary and secondary school, that Oberlin represented; for the administration and the teachers were imported from places as exactly like Oberlin as the Board of the American Missionary Association could contrive to obtain. And, after the School had given its most promising students all that it could, it early began to send them to Oberlin-like colleges; to sister institutions in the American Missionary Association system, such as Atlanta University, Fisk University, Talladega College, and not-too dissimilar Presbyterian institution of collegiate level — Knoxville College.

There was even a greater resemblance to a "moulding" institution than would ordinarily meet the eye. The Lincoln Normal School provided a *complete* social and moral, as well as educational, community for the formation of the children, and youth, who attended it. The Principal — or a member of the Faculty — was also the Pastor of the Congregational Church that became one of the important features accompanying the activities of this, and other, "A. M. A." schools.

The *Minutes* of the First Congregational Church of Marion, Alabama, from 1868 to 1898 have been preserved. Reading them is to find oneself in the climate of an eighteenth Century New England community. The members of the church included the faculty, the students, and a number of the parents of the attending children, although Alexander H. Curtis, a founder, remained faithful to his Baptist membership.

Students had a full round of required participation in religious services; everyone attended morning chapel daily, and each class was prefaced by prayer. Everyone attended Sunday School, Church Services, an afternoon Vespers, and a night church Meeting on Thurs-

day's, and Choir Practice on Friday's. Additionally, each family was encouraged to have morning prayers at home before coming to school, and evening prayers at the supper hour, with additional prayers at bed-time.

Discipline in the Church was strict; there are references to the expulsion of Sister Blank who has been living in adultery, and has resisted remonstrance, to mend her ways; or rebukes to Brother Jones, who has been heard addressing his own brother profanely, and is required to pay a fine *and* to make a declaration of public confession, else to suffer the penalty of dismissal. Or Brother Simpson is called to account for having been seen imbibing strong drink; or Sister Jones was seen hanging out her washing on a Sunday, when she did not attend Church.¹⁰

Academic as well as moral and social discipline in the school was exact. Northern text-books were used, principally supplied by mission agencies; the School teachers, all of them imports from the North, until a small corps of Negro teachers developed principally by the school, and usually assigned to the lower grades, began to make their appearance. The Northern textbooks, including "Union" songs and anti-slavery poems, and readings and declamations extolling the heroes of the anti-slavery movement, did not endear the institution to the local whites, who accused the mission schools of teaching politics to the children, and "poisoning" their minds against their former masters.¹¹ Declamation, exhibitions, and contests were a regular part of the weekly program; poems by Whittier and orations repeated from Charles Sumner and Frederick Douglass, and songs such as "The Battle Hymn of the Republic", "We'll Rally 'Round the Flag Boys," and "Marching Through Georgia", taught a kind of history that must have been unpalatable to the local attitudes. But it must be remembered, that Alexander H. Curtis, the leader of the local Negroes, was one of the most powerful political leaders in the State, until Reconstruction, nationally, came to an end in 1876; and, for several years more, two or three thousand Negro voters in Perry County carried weight enough to insure the appointment of a Negro post-master for the city of Marion, usually a member of the Curtis or Childs family.

Children were required to attend school regularly; tardiness was a school offense high on the list of the unforgivable. In at least one American Missionary School, there existed a New England lady teacher who, with a passing mark set at 60, delighted in handing out occasional grades of 59 and 2/3rds. Students were classified on

entrance on the level shown by an entrance examination; seventeen and eighteen year old boys, with older men, would be assigned to the first grade in day, or night school, without compunction. Patsey Childs, born in 1856, had been taught to read and write by the white women in the white family that owned her. She entered Lincoln School as an advanced student; she commented that the teachers were all Northern people, who were very thorough; after she completed the work at Lincoln School, she was sent to Talladega College in 1874, where she completed the Normal work (teacher training course; usually consisting of a high school course with the last year giving specialized attention to a review of the "common" subjects, methods of teaching, and some practice in teaching). A manuscript autobiography she has left for her descendants reveals a sensitive, well-educated woman with an excellent command of the language.¹²

When Thomas Jesse Jones visited the school in 1914, in the course of his Survey of Negro Education, he described the "classroom work and management" as "effective;" the enrollment as comprising 270, 248 of whom were in elementary grades, and 22 on the secondary level; and with 15 white, and one "colored", teachers.¹³ When William Childs Curtis, Ph.D., was asked in 1962 to give a reason for his academic advancement in life, he replied that the principal reason was the existence of the fine A.M.A. school in Marion, — the Lincoln School — attended both by his father, and his mother; and by the fathers and mothers of the other notable persons whose roots were in Marion. A similar answer was given by five other doctorates in our sample, whose parents, and, in some cases, themselves, had attended the school.

The conclusion of this writer is that the nature of the *family* is of prime importance in the production of persons of unusual academic talent, whether from privileged, or underprivileged, circumstances. Few will disagree with the impression, that the nature of the secondary school, and of its faculty, stands next in the hierarchy of explanatory factors. Judging from this contemporary survey of its output, we would soberly judge the Lincoln Normal and Industrial School to have been the best predominantly Negro secondary school this country has known.

B. *A Documentable African Princess*

One of the subjects of this study is Dr. Mabel Murphy Smythe, Professor in the Hunter College of New York, and wife of the current (1966) Ambassador of the United States to Syria, the Honorable Hugh Smythe. It was by accident that this investigator discovered

that the family of Dr. Mabel Smythe was the only instance among American Negroes known to this writer, and to other knowledgeable persons to whom he has spoken, affording an example of a case where direct descent from an African source can be documented; and on both the paternal and maternal, sides. This instance is so unusual that reference to it here has been irresistible.

Mrs. Josephine Dibble Murphy, now a colleague on the staff of Atlanta University, has known of my interest in historical matters; and so, one day, inquired of me if I would like to see her grandfather's "free papers" issued to one Andrew Dibble, by the Governor of South Carolina; a formidable document dated August 24, 1860, and issued from the City of Charleston under the Great Seal of the Commonwealth, duly signed by the Governor and the Deputy Secretary of State, testifying that one Andrew Dibble was indeed a Free Man of Color.

But attached to this document, was another that had evidently been a supporting proof. It was dated as recorded December 1st, 1807; and it testified,

The bearer of this, a native of Africa, was born free on the Island of Bounanoes, and baptized by the name of Catherine Cleveland, by the Reverend Mr. H (?) ockley, Rector of St. Johns Parish, Berkley County, was brought into this State in the year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty four, by Elizabeth Cleveland (now Hardcastle) in the Ship, *Queen of Barrow*, Capt. Alexander Taylor, Commander, Col. James Tweed and Capt. Alex Tweed, passengers. The ship consigned to Henry Laurens, Esq. in Charleston.

The said Catherine has issue named as follows, Jack, Joe, Issac, Kitty, Paul, Jenny, Phillis, and Beck, and Beck's three children, Mindah, John, and Frank. Certified this Thirtieth day of November in the Year of our Lord One thousand Eight hundred and Seven.

Eliz. Hardcastle

Still another document was appended to Andrew Dibble's "Certificate of Freedom." It was an affidavit dated August 24, 1860:

Personally appeared before me, I. Francis Beckman, a Magistrate of the said State Charles Kanapame, who being duly sworn, says: That Andrew Dibble a free man of color, aged Thirty-six years, a Taylor, now residing in the town of Camden in this State, is the son of Mindah, the Daughter of Beck, who was the daughter of Catherine Cleveland in the above extract mentioned — That Beck was personally known to deponent as a free Woman of Color, and the Deponent was for years past (and up to the time of her death), the guardian of Mindah — Known as Marrha Smith — Deponent Knows the Boy, Andrew Dibble, as being free in every acceptation of Law.

Chas. Kanapame

Remembering that the Banana Islands are located off the Coast of Sierra Leone, in West Africa, this investigator had recourse to the monumental *History of Sierra Leone* by Christopher Fyfe, a professor of African History in the University of Edinburgh.¹⁴ In this book there is a reference to a William Cleveland, a mate of an English ship that had been wrecked on the shores of one of the Banana Islands, about 1715; and had thereafter accepted employment with the local King, Skinner Corker. (The name was later corrupted to "Caulker"). William Cleveland was a member of a respectable Devonshire family; his father was a naval commander, and a brother, John, became Secretary to the Admiralty. It was customary for the English traders on the Coast to marry African women, and to send their children to England for an education; Thomas Corker, the father of Skinner Corker by an African woman, known as Seniors Doll, the Duchess of Sherboro, sent his children to England for an education; according to local matrilineal custom, they inherited their mother's title, but kept the paternal name.

King Skinner Corker is said to have given his only daughter, Kate, to William Cleveland in marriage; although Fyfe believes that the Katie (Catherine) Cleveland of our story was probably the child of a second African wife of William Cleveland, N'damba of the Kissy tribe. William Cleveland died in 1758; whether the "Catherine Cleveland" who came into the Port of Charleston on board the *Queen of Barrow* in 1764 was William Cleveland's daughter, or granddaughter, we do not know; nor do we know the circumstances that led Elizabeth Cleveland, later Elizabeth Hardcastle, presumably white, and presumably, also, a relative of William Cleveland, to bring the girl to America, we do not know.¹⁵ The ship, *Queen of Barrow*, was consigned to Henry Laurens, one of the largest slave traders in the Eighteenth Century South; correspondence by Laurens regarding the ship and its 1764 passage to Charleston indicates that it was a slaver with a cargo of 240 slaves.¹⁶ Elizabeth Cleveland perhaps a sister or neice of William Cleveland, learning of the existence of her half-English, half-African relative in the Banana Islands, must have asked Henry Laurens to arrange for her transportation on one of his slavers from West Africa, to the colony of South Carolina where, she thought, the child might be given a Christian education and rearing more adequately than at her home.

Equally well documented is another Dibble connection with Africa. One, Scipio, was seized at Abeokuta in Yorubaland, now Western Nigeria, in 1805. He was brought to South Carolina and

The bearer of this, a native of Africa was born free on the Island of Oaenanoes, and baptised by the name of Catherine Cleveland, by the Reverend Mr. Noockley Rector of St. Johns Parish Back Country was brought into this State in the year One Thousand Seven hundred and Sixty four, by Elizabeth Cleveland (now Heardcastle) in the Ship Tavern of Barron Capt. Hyslop Taylor Commander, Col. James Hood and Capt. May Speed passengers, the Ship coming to Henry Laurens Esq. in Charleston.

The said Catherine has issue named as follows, Jack, Jee, Isaac, Kitty, Paul, Jimmy, Phillis and Beck, and Beck's three Children, Mindah, John and Frank. Certified this Thirtieth day of November in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight hundred and Seven.

In presence of } Eliza Heardcastle.
 Francis Peeples }
 Thos Palmer }

Charleston s/- Josiah I Darrell being duly sworn made oath that he is well acquainted with Francis Peeples and Thomas Palmer, and with the manner and form of their hand writing having frequently seen them write, and that he verily believeth the Names "Francis Peeples" and "Thos Palmer" signed as the Witnesses, to the above Certificate to be the proper hand writing of the said Francis Peeples & Thomas Palmer.

Subscribed before me this }
 4th day of December 1807 }
 Charles Jones }
 Secretary of } Records & Clerk of the
 Secretary of State's Office }
 Charleston 24th August 1860 } I do hereby
 certify that the foregoing written Oath is a true and correct }
 Copy taken by me from the original and Records of }
 1807 to 1835 in which case }

Affidavit testifying that Catherine Cleveland the great-grandmother of Andrew Dibble the great-grandfather of Mabel Murphy Smythe, Ph.D., was born free in West Africa and brought free into Charleston, South Carolina in 1764.

sold to a planter named Vaughan, at Camden. A man of great skill in many crafts, a great-grand-daughter wrote of him that “. . . he was permitted by his master to go from one town to the other repairing roofs, helping to build houses and molding brick. He was in great demand. He also became famous in those days as a great craftsman in the art of smelting iron and fashioning wrought iron gates, gratings for windows and fences.” He took to wife a Cherokee Indian woman.

This account is taken from family papers perserved both by the American and by the Nigerian branches of the family. They have been placed at my disposal by Mrs. Josephine Dibble Murphy, of Atlanta, Georgia.

A number of children were born to this union. A grand-daughter, Sally Lee, married Eugene Heriot Dibble, son of Andrew Henry Dibble.

Two of their grand-children, Sarah Murphy Lemon, and Mable Murphy Smythe, have earned doctorates. Scipio Vaughn had vowed to return to Africa; he was never able to do so. Two of his sons, Burrell and James Churchill Vaughan, were sworn on their father's deathbed to return to Africa when they were able to do so.

Burrell became a carpenter. He was permitted by his master to keep a part of his earnings. In this manner he earned enough money to buy his freedom. He left soon afterward for Liberia; but, arrived there, decided to go to his father's native land, Abeokuta, in Yorubaland. At first he devoted himself to farming and carpentry; but then went into trade, establishing a chain of stores in which he exchanged various European metal products for palm oil, ivory, and rare woods. He accumulated considerable wealth.

Later his brother, James Churchill Vaughan, followed him to Africa.

Burrell Vaughan married a princess of the Yoruba tribe. They had three children; James, who was sent to Switzerland for medical training; Burrell Vaughan, Jr., was sent to school in England; and Ada Arabella was educated in France. Ada married a barrister in Lagos, Erick Moore. “He founded the first Episcopal Church in Lagos, donated the organ, and paid the minister's salary for several years. Mr. and Mrs. Moore were the parents of three daughters and a son, all of whom were educated in England. A son and daughter are barristers in Nigeria. A daughter, Kofo, received her degree at Oxford, England. Her husband, Sir Adetokumbo Ademola, is the Chief Justice

of the Federation of Nigeria. They were knighted Lord and Lady by Queen Elizabeth a few years ago.¹⁷

The families have visited back and forth from Africa to America for more than a century; James Churchill Vaughan came back to Camden, South Carolina, where recorded the family history on March 14, 1852; Burrell made a visit after the Civil War. Ada Arabella Stradford visited Camden in 1925; and Lady Ademola, with her husband, Chief Justice Ademola, have been in the United States several times in the last decade, on each occasion visiting their American cousins, now scattered from South to North, and from East to West coasts.

Of the 12 children of Andrew Dibble, — the great-grandson of Catherine Cleveland, who came free into the Port of Charleston in 1764, in the ship, *Queen of Barrow*, three died in infancy (including a "Kate"); one daughter married Henry Maxwell, a State Senator in South Carolina during Reconstruction; another daughter married a leading minister of his time, Benjamin Taylor. One son, Eugene Heriot Dibble, became a merchant, and was appointed postmaster of Camden. The others pursued various crafts and skills in Camden and elsewhere.

In the next generation, Andrew Henry Dibble, Jr., had six children. One Catherine Dibble Martin, married James Martin, a professor of Latin and Greek at Biddle University (now Johnson C. Smith University). Dibble Martin died in his senior year in medical school. Frank and Dwight Martin finished dental school and practice dentistry.

Louise Dibble married Henry Maxwell, state senator during Reconstruction and proprietor of a fashionable grocery business in Orangeburg, South Carolina. Her son, Wendell Maxwell, became a physician. Ella Maxwell married Rev. James W. Page, a Methodist minister. John Maxwell continued the family grocery business. Naomi Maxwell married George Edwards, a barber. Stephen Lloyd Maxwell was in business. Andrew Dibble Maxwell became a dentist.

Eugene Heriot Dibble, a merchant, married Sally Lee, Scipio Vaughan's grand-daughter. He had six children. One, Josephine Dibble, who married Harry Murphy, a printer. Josephine Dibble has had a career as educator and college administrator. Two of her children — Sarah, and Mable — have earned academic doctorates; all four are college graduates. Eugene Heriot Dibble, Jr., became a physician; of his two sons, one is a physician; and one in business. Of his three

daughters, one married a physician and one a lawyer; two have master's degrees and careers in Social Work.

Eugene H. Dibble, Jr.'s. third child was Harold Leonidas, who married Jessie Moorner. Harold Leonidas Dibble has had a career as a housing administrator. His one daughter, Carol Annette, earned a Master's degree in Library Science; she married Julian A. Cook, a lawyer. The fourth child, Ellie Dibble, married Edmund Perry Palmer, a mortician. Two sons became morticians, and one a physician; a fourth was killed in an automobile accident.

The fifth child of Eugene H. Dibble, Jr., was Andrew Dibble. He became a physician; he had no children. The sixth child was James Laurence Dibble; he became a school teacher. He was never married.

Ella Naomi Dibble married Theodore Levy, a barber. Of their three children, Ella Levy married Weshie Thompson, a postal mail clerk; Elizabeth Levy married Harry Davis, a Railroad porter; and Eugene Davis Levy has four children.

Our records for Rufus Dennis Dibble, and for Hattie C. Dibble, are not complete, nor do we have data for the fourth generation of Andrew Henry Dibble's descendants, nor for the fifth and sixth generations of the descendants of Scipio Vaughan's descendants in Africa. Andrew Henry Dibble was himself fourth in line from Katherine Cleveland, who arrived, free, on a slave ship entering the Port of Charleston in 1764, the great-grand-daughter (or grand-daughter) of Skinner Corker, the King of the Banana Islands, and the daughter (or grand-daughter) of William Cleveland, of an honored family listed in Burke's *Landed Gentry*, and brother to a Secretary of the Admiralty.

In Sierra Leone, the Clevelands seem to be extinct. The Corkers, however, — now transmogrified into Caulker — are among the leading intellectually elite families of the State; and long have been.

In all of these families, the "royal" blood may have had something to do with it. One might also suspect, that certainly as decisive a factor in the unusual intellectual productivity now witnessed, may stem from the fact that we are witnessing the effects of from eight to ten generations of literacy — *and* the availability of excellent schools. For, no less than the eighteenth century Clevelands and Corkers, who got their education in England, the nineteenth and twentieth century Vaughans, and Caulkers, and Dibbles, have had available excellent elementary, secondary, and collegiate institutions — though,

sadly enough, provided by private philanthropy, rather than by public beneficence.

IV. THE PRODIGIOUS DANIEL FAMILY

There must have been few families in the United States that could better the record, academically, of the eight children of Charles J. Daniel, who married Carrie J. Green in 1886. All eight of the children earned baccalaureate degrees, and five, academic doctorates. A diagram of this family is to be found in the Appendix (Family Diagram).

One of the roots of this family was the relationship established between a wealthy Virginia planter, Ralph Quarles, and a slave woman, Lucy Langston, about 1800. The Master emancipated Lucy Langston in 1801, when their first child, Maria, was born. Three other children followed; Gideon, born in 1809; Charles, in 1817; and John Mercer, in 1929.¹⁸

Maria was educated by tutors at home. The three boys were sent to be educated, and to live, in the strongly abolitionist community of Oberlin, Ohio, where, in 1834, Oberlin College became the first institution in the United States to declare itself openly for the coeducation of the sexes, and of the races as well.

John Mercer Langston entered the preparatory department of Oberlin College in 1844. His account of the institution then, and of his stay to the completion of the collegiate course in 1849, is a description of the American Missionary Association schools for Freedmen established later in the South; and, indeed, of the mission schools established by other denominational agencies.

Arriving on a Sunday, in company with George B. Vashon, who was a senior at Oberlin College, and had taught Langston at a school for colored children at Chillicothe, Ohio, he noticed that what seemed to be the entire population was on foot through the muddy streets to a large church, the only one in town — the First Congregational Church of Oberlin. The Minister for the day was the noted Charles G. Finney; Langston wrote:

How the singing of the great choir of the church, in which more than a hundred voices were blended, sustained by instruments of vast compass and power, and yet with tone sweet and soul-moving, impressed and charmed his youthful mind! How the touching, effective, eloquent rendition of the Scripture lesson made by the faultless, incomparable elocutionist, Prof. John Morgan, led him to see new beauties and gain new ideas from the ever-memorable passage of the sermon on the Mount! . . . When the orator of the occasion

stepped forward, the attention of the audience while every eye was turned towards him, became, as shown in the faces of the people, intensified. The announcement of his text and its rendition, were a sermon. However, in his exposition and illustration of the Truth, as contained in the passage of Scripture which he read, he occupied quite an hour and a half, during which time the vast assembly gave profoundest attention to every word he uttered, hearing him apparently as if for life itself. An intermission of three-quarters of an hour followed his discourse.

. . . Every man, woman and child then came again to the church, to hear the last words of the moving, eloquent, utterance of the Rev. Charles G. Finney.¹⁹

There were not too many Finney's; but Oberlin College was a very prototype of the missionary schools later established in the South. Professor John Morgan's daughter, Helen Clarissa, went as a teacher of Latin to Fisk University in 1867; her first classroom had a dirt floor. She remained forty years; in 1931, James F. Childs, who had been sent to Fisk University from the Lincoln Normal School in 1872, wrote at the age of 80:

I retired from government service nine years ago. I think Fisk University can be proud of one of her older children. I was a first-class laborer for the Government, and I was a first class clerk. In thirty-five years as a clerk I was never absent or tardy a single day. I learned this from my old teachers at Fisk. I remember how Mr. Spence beat time for the singers; and Miss Morgan was good and kind to us all, although she wanted us to do everything perfectly.²⁰

Oberlin also set the pattern for education by social living the mission schools generally adopted. When John Mercer Langston attended Oberlin, the dormitories were large houses, in which faculty families were housed; they served as monitors and guides to manners and morals for the students. The mission schools and colleges maintained, through the 1920's, the tradition of communal living; even when dormitories became larger. The faculty — usually made up of spinster ladies were assigned to dining room tables with the students, teaching by their presence and example the arts of good manners, and good conversation. Langston wrote about his housing at Oberlin:

At this point, as Mr. Vashon was leaving, Mrs. Whipple, the wife of the professor, came in and was introduced to the student who was to take his place from that day at her table and make his home in her house. A woman of superior appearance and personal attractions, handsomely endowed in every sense by nature, highly educated and cultured, of pleasing manner and address, the near relative of the great Daniel Webster, she made the happiest possible impression at once upon the youth. She had but commenced conversation with

him, inquiring as to his studies and classes, when the daughter of the family appeared, and John was introduced to her. It was found to his delight upon explanations he had made to the mother, that we would be in the same classes with her daughter . . . when dinner was announced . . . the members of the family, and students, boarders, and inmates, gathered in the dining room, and each took the seat at the table appropriated to him or her. There was a single vacancy, and this was allotted to the newcomer. He took it as directed and found himself near the lady of the house, just to her left, with a noted female teacher and scholar, Miss Mary True, seated immediately beyond him to his left.

Seated thus and a stranger in whom no little interest centered, he was so thoroughly questioned, especially by these ladies, that even if he had not been greatly embarrassed, he could not have found time for eating his meal and relieving fully his boyish appetite, for all meals were closed promptly.

However, as the days passed and he made the acquaintance and the friendship of the entire family, he became wholly at home and at ease in his most agreeable surroundings. Besides himself, there was in this family but a single other colored person — a young lady very cordially treated by all, because of her excellent behavior and her natural, appropriate bearing. Situated thus, brought in contact constantly with pleasant persons, associating daily with congenial classmates, with every influence exerted upon him calculated to develop and sustain his scholarly qualities and character, young Langston passed his first year at Oberlin College, pursuing with assiduity and vigor the study of the Greek and Latin languages, advanced arithmetic and algebra, with such lessons in the Bible and instructions in elementary exercises of Rhetoric as were given at that time in the preparatory department, to students fitting themselves for examination and entry of the regular college class.²¹

The descendants of John Mercer Langston have, generally, followed professional bents; a son, Arthur D. Langston, graduated from Oberlin College in 1877; a grandson, John M., II, graduated from Oberlin, Phi Beta Kappa, in 1901; and a great-grand-son, Carroll Napier Langston, Jr., graduated from Oberlin in 1938, and from the University of Michigan Law School in 1941; he was killed, while in the Air Force, in 1944.

Our immediate concern here is with the prodigious academic attainment of the Daniels, the fifth generation from Lucy Langston. From our Chart, the story revealed is of the iron determination evidenced in the feat of their father, Charles J. Daniel, who persisted in school until the age of 39, to make up for unavailable opportunities in his earlier years. The autobiographical accounts of his children reveal a family discipline and devotion to study of unusual quality.

Both parents attended missionary schools whose spirit and regimen were much like that of the early Oberlin, described by John Mercer Langston. The father attended the Richmond Theological Institute, the mother, an affiliated Hartshorne Seminary; both were maintained by the American Baptist Home Missionary Society, and staffed principally by teachers cast in the tradition of New England, puritanical abolitionism.

To the atmosphere of the campus on which the children grew up, was added constant motivation, and home assistance, to attain the goal of academic excellence. The children remember, that each evening the parents assembled the children for a study session; and they were asked to review their lessons for the next day, in order of age. The mother provided special supervision in English, and in Latin; the father, in mathematics. They recall, how they learned to dislike showing a deficiency; and failure in the nightly recitation meant that the child affected had to go to the bottom of the family group, and take his turn to appear again for another trial. Each Daniel child was expected to be letter-perfect in the assigned lesson, when the next school day came.

This family may surely be called a veritable cradle for the production of persons of unusual academic talent; quite extraordinary parents produced a quite extraordinary group of excellent students.

V. THE WRIGHT FAMILY

In 1867, an ex-slave woman enrolled her twelve-year old child in the new school for freedmen that had been started in a box-car in Atlanta two years before. The school was named Atlanta University. His mother could read only a few words in the Bible, and what little of the alphabet she knew, she had taught her son. When General O. O. Howard, the administrator of the Freedmen's Bureau, visited the school soon after, he asked the children what he should tell the people in the North about them. One of the boys — ". . . very black and small of stature," rose and said, "Tell them we are rising." Howard told the story to the poet, Whittier; he turned it into the poems, "Howard at Atlanta", that was widely published.²²

The boy was Richard Robert Wright; in 1876 he was one of three students to receive Atlanta University's first A.B. degrees. He became a school principal, a college president, and founded a bank in Philadelphia, at the age of 70; at the same time he enrolled in the Evening School of Finance at the University of Pennsylvania, in order, he said, to learn more about his profession. He died at the age of 92

years, active to the last week of his life.

In his autobiography, written at the age of 87, one of his sons, Richard Robert Wright, Jr., had this to say of his own family:

I was among the first of the college-educated sons of the first generation of educated free Negro Americans, and I have been a part of four generations of Negro Americans who acquired, during this time, 20 A.B., 13 A.M., 2 Ph.D., 1 M.D. degrees and five other degrees; producing two college presidents, three bank presidents, 1 Major, one lieutenant surgeon, and three enlisted men in the United States Army, two in *Who's Who in America*, one Distinguished Daughter of Pennsylvania, one bishop, 2 editors, two who studied in European Universities . . .²³

The first academic doctorate in the family was Richard Robert Wright, Jr. One of his early motivations, he said, was that he was “. . . anxious to help disprove what Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina had said about a Negro-American being unable to learn the Greek Alphabet.” The story recurs frequently in the autobiographical accounts of college-educated Negroes of the first free generation; Calhoun had said once, that if he could find a Negro who could parse a latin verb, or write the Greek alphabet, he would be disposed to grant his claim to full human capacity.

He was motivated, likewise, by a father, who, his son said, kept by his bedside copies of the Scriptures in English, Greek, and French; and read them alternately. His mother had been a student in Atlanta University with his father;

I was one of the few children of the community who had educated parents. My father and mother had had some of the best trained teachers in America as their tutors, mostly graduates from New England colleges, who created a thirst for knowledge and ambition to serve their people through education, and a very high regard for good moral character of the Puritan order. Atlanta University was a little spot of Puritan New England in the midst of black Georgia. The white teachers lived with their students, ate and worked with them, and believed in them.²⁴

He attended high school at the Haines Institute, a Presbyterian school conducted in Augusta by Miss Lucy Laney, a graduate of Atlanta University, and famous as a strict disciplinarian who headed her distinguished school for more than fifty years. He went to college at the Georgia State College, in Savannah, where his father had won a long fight for the retention of the classical languages in the curriculum of the college, which many in the white community thought absurd in a state-supported institution for Negroes.

He remembered, that:

When I was about eighteen, my father told me about a young man named William E. Burghardt DuBois who studied at the University of Berlin, Germany, and who would get his Ph.D. degree from Harvard University. "Son", he said, "you should plan some day to go to Germany to get the Ph.D. degree. Up to now only a few of our race have received that degree. I believe you have the ability to win it." Although I was only a sophomore in college, I decided then and there that some day I would go to Germany, and that I would earn a Ph.D. degree.²⁵

"My earliest teachers," he wrote, were my mother and father in the home, and I still regard their early teaching as the most important part of my education. They set the compass of my life. Had they not been what they were, I should have missed the enthusiasm for education."

He left Georgia to study in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, where he earned the B.D. degree. He did attain his dream of studying in Germany, where he continued Theological and philosophical studies. On his return to the United States, his work as a pastor turned his attention to social problems; and in 1911 he took his doctorate in Sociology from the University of Pennsylvania.

One of his daughters, Ruth Wright Hayre, now (1966) an Assistant Superintendent in the Philadelphia school system, took her doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania in 1954. Her mother was a graduate of Clark University (now Clark College) in Atlanta; she was the daughter of William H. Crogman, who had been Richard Robert Wright's classmate at Atlanta University. Her husband said of her, "I found her modest, serious, not a bit 'boy stuck', and for the first time in my life a girl who could hold conversation on literature, history, Latin and Greek poetry, philosophy, and other subjects, with me, and teach me something."²⁶

Dr. Hayre's father gives an interesting account of the problems she encountered in the Philadelphia schools.

In her ninth year I found her standing in front of a mirror, staring at herself, squeezing her nose, and rubbing her cheek. She asked me, "Daddy, am I a Negro?" "What do you mean," I asked, to which she replied, "Teacher told me today that I'm a Negro, and a Negro, teacher said, is an ugly black person with thick lips, broad nose, and sloping forward and a ring in his nose — a savage." "Well, where did teacher get such nonsense?", I asked. "From this book", she answered, producing Cornman and Gerson's *Geography Primer*, which was used in primary schools in Philadelphia, New York, New

Jersey, and Delaware. One of the authors had been a schoolmate of mine.²⁷

In this one instance, at least, a well-informed Negro parent was able to obtain a correction of what he regarded as "... inaccuracy ... unfairness."

I made copies of it and sent them to more than a score of universities' departments of biology and anthropology, asking if the definition of race was scientifically correct. Fourteen answered, stating the description was inaccurate. I wrote an editorial in which I called the forcing of young children to learn such a description was "America's greatest crime, far greater than murder," in that such a description forced upon the innocent in their first school years, laid the foundation for future prejudices, and possibly future wars ... I also sought the authors who, after reading my materials ... said I was correct and that the description had no place in the book ... They said that it would not appear in future editions and, if I would agree, they would accept my own description for the next edition ... I wrote the description which, along with the picture of the Negro-American poet Paul Laurence Dunbar was published in subsequent editions of the Geography Primer ...²⁸

Another recollection Dr. Wright had of his daughter's education was

... when Ruth's advisor in West Philadelphia High School refused to approve her registration for a course in Latin. The advisor told her that Latin 'was absolutely out of the question' and that she should not think of going to college. The advisor recommended home economics, where there was employment opportunity, and said that was final. Grief-stricken, Ruth came home and told her mother the story. Ruth's mother went to the school and informed the advisor that it was not only Ruth's desire but that of Ruth's parents that Ruth study Latin. The advisor was emphatic, saying that it was a waste of time and that her mother should talk her out of the notion. "There is no opportunity for a colored girl to study Latin," she said. Mrs. Wright told her that both of Ruth's grandfathers had taught Latin and Greek for a total of sixty-five years; that Ruth's father had taught Latin and her mother was teaching Latin when she married, that nobody in Ruth's family had been a domestic servant in three generations. This called for a long conversation on Ruth's personal background, of which the advisor had never inquired. She never saw Ruth's excellent grades in elementary school. She merely saw Ruth as a "Negro" and as was the custom in that day, "Negro" girls who were fortunate enough to get a high school education were advised to "take home economics" which was a prerequisite for good household employment. Advisors seldom looked into colored girls' background, or the occupation of their parents, and almost never visited their homes ... Ruth studied

Latin, was elected a member of the National Honor Society, graduated from West Philadelphia High School, won a City of Philadelphia scholarship to the University of Pennsylvania, and a state scholarship to the same institution.²⁹

VI. OTHER FAMILIES

In the Appendix, we have listed accounts and prepared diagrams (see Family Diagrams, pp. (167-179) of other families that have been distinguished for academic attainment. Among these families are the Colsons, of Virginia, whose ancestry goes back to a stable free Negro family founded in 1742; one family not here diagrammed is that including the brothers Tanner and James H. Duckrey, with a cousin, Sadie Mossell Alexander, the first Negro woman to receive a doctorate in the University of Pennsylvania. This family has a documentable history going back to 1688, when a British brigadier deeded a property now included in the modern city environs of Philadelphia to a woman of mixed Indian-Negro descent, and the Bustill family was established.

Documents referring to the Bustill family have been presented by: Mrs. Maisie Griffin, of Philadelphia, the daughter of Dr. Mossell of Philadelphia, and the grand-daughter of Cyrus Bustill, who lived in the Lincoln University Village from 1868-1880. This Cyrus Bustill was the grand-son of a Cyrus Bustill who belonged to the Quaker Community of Philadelphia until 1787, when he withdrew from the Quaker Community in protest over the institution of a "Negro Pew", in a Quaker meeting House, and associated himself with Richard Allen, who founded the African Methodist Episcopal Church in protest as a similar discrimination at St. George's Methodist Church.³⁰

Principally of slave antecedents, are the Clement-Steele family, of North Carolina; though "slaves", the great-grandparents were artisans, and, after freedom, farm-folk whose children attended the excellent Presbyterian and African Methodist Episcopal Zion schools established soon after the Civil War in the section of North Carolina where these folk lived. We also describe, graphically, the history of the Nabrit family that now (1966) claims James Nabrit, President of Howard University; and Samuel Nabrit, President of Texas Southern University, on leave for membership on the Atomic Energy Commission.

If there are common denominators among these older scholarly productive families, they would be:

1. Three or more generations of literacy, even where slaves were concerned.
2. Possession of vocational skills, or other competencies that

permitted a better-than-usual scale of income, that frequently provided the slight margin of income differential that permitted children to be educated in the private schools of the day.

3. Access to schools — principally missionary schools — that could be called “excellent” by standards of any generation.
4. Motivation of an extraordinary sort, that led to extraordinary expectations, and extraordinary attainments.

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4. In Frazier, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
6. William Montgomery Jackson. “The Great-Great-Grandson of a Madagascar King becomes A Priest of the American Episcopal Church,” pp. 946-948. *Spirit of Missions*. Vol. LXXI, 1906.
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14. Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone*, p. 10, ff. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.
15. *Ibid.* This investigator owes much to supplementary information provided by Professor Fyfe. In corresponding, he points out that the English Cleavelands are listed in Burke's *Landed Gentry*; and that the arrival of the *Queen of Barrow* in Charleston, Captain Taylor, Master, is confirmed in
16. Elizabeth. Dounan. *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade*, Vol. IV. pp. 386-399. Washington: Carnegie Institutions, 1930. Laurens, a signatory of the Declaration of Independence, was in his time the largest importer of slaves, and the largest slave trader, in the American colonies.
17. From manuscript by Mrs. Ada Arabella Stradford, of Lagos, Nigeria, Circa 1958. In the possession of Mrs. Josephine Dibble Murphy.
18. John Mercer Langston, *From the Virginia Plantation to the National Capitol*. Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Company, 1893. Also, autobiographical replies to questionnaire, by Vattel, Walter, William, and Robert Daniel: also, letter from C. N. Langston, December 11, 1962.
19. Langston, *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.
20. MS., Letter of James F. Child to the Alumni Secretary, Fisk University, March 27.

1951. In Alumni Files, Fisk University.

21. Langston, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

22. Richard R. Wright, Jr., 87 Years Behind The Black Curtain, p. 17, Philadelphia: The Rare Book Company, 1965.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-1.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-2.

30. See, also, Theophilus Gould Steward, *Gouldtown, a very remarkable settlement of ancient date*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1913.

— CHAPTER 4 —

THE SECONDARY, COLLEGIATE, AND GRADUATE SCHOOL BACKGROUND OF THE NEGRO DOCTORATE

Secondary School Origins

A High School Roster, listing the high schools that have produced academic doctorates in the United States since 1957, is maintained by the Office of Scientific Personnel. This list, including doctorates granted between 1957 and 1962, was made available to the writer. The compilers of this vast store of information encountered understandable difficulties in correctly classifying the racial characteristics of the high schools. The classification scheme of the Office of Education, as set down in its publication showing Secondary Schools in 1952, followed the practice of listing all high schools located in States without segregation laws, as being "integrated" schools. This practice neglected the numerous Northern high schools that were even then, altogether or almost exclusively "Negro" in their enrollment.

Furthermore, the operators of classificatory services for machine processing can scarcely be blamed, in the endless tangles of the segregation system, for getting white and Negro schools, and youth, confused; in a number of Southern situations, there was confusion between the graduates, and the schools, in the same locality, and with confusingly similar names. These personnel, even in a "Scientific Office," should not be expected to know that one never saw a "Negro" high school bearing a county name, such as, "Smith County High School"; the county designation was likely to be reserved for a white school, so that one should have known that the "Smith County High School" was invariably a white school, while the Negro school was likely to be the "Smith County Training School."

The writer, therefore, pared a list of 342 "Negro" schools, with 682 doctorates listed, to one of 336, with 566 doctorates listed. Even here he may be in error; the list is only a close approximation to accuracy.

Of these 336 high schools, 242 produced one 1957-1962 doctorate:

48	two
26	three
8	four
7	five
3	six
2	seven
2	eight
2	nine
1	sixteen, for a total of 547.

In the six year period (1957-1962), 59,473 doctorates were awarded by American universities. The 566 figure for our segregated high schools is 0.94% of this number; since our estimate (See Chapter 2) is that Negro doctorates now constitute from one to one and a half per cent of the annual production of all American doctorates; the segregated Negro high school has probably given a secondary education to at least two-thirds of Negro academic doctorates.

As has been stated above, the Dunbar High School of Washington, D. C., has been the premier producer — (numerically considered), of Negro academic doctorates.¹

In the Appendix (Table A-2) 94 schools that have produced two or more doctorates are listed. "Rates" have been worked out on the basis of the ratio between the number of doctorates, and the number of 1952 high school graduates as given in the U. S. Office of Education's *Directory of Secondary Day Schools, 1951-1952*. Probably the highest ratio is for a small Kentucky high school, the Rosenwald High School, of Harlan, for whom the number of graduates is not given in either the *Directory*, nor the *Roster*. This school shows three doctorates; the explanation lies in the residence in this small coal town of another one of our amazing families, — the Kennedy's.

The considerable time lapse between high school graduation, and the earning of a doctorate, is evidenced in the fact that a number of the listed schools are formerly "missionary" schools that have not been in existence for a number of years; such are: the Haines Institute, whose successor was the Lucy Laney High School, of Augusta, Georgia, now a public high school, that produced three doctorates; the Leland High School at Baker, Louisiana, that was the high school department of Leland College, a small defunct Baptist college, that yet had a productivity of four doctorates; the Gilbert Academy, of New Orleans, once the excellent high school department of New Orleans University, merged since 1934 with Straight College to form

Dillard University; a producer of three doctorates; and the Trinity High School, of Athens, Alabama, a producer of three doctorates. Trinity is now a public high school; its listed 1952 graduating class of 34 was probably much smaller in the pre-World War II days when it was under the private control of the American Missionary Association.

When arranged by "ratios", (and with due trepidation in the event some card-puncher somewhere along the line may have erred in racially mis-classifying either the school, or the doctor!), the following twenty-five schools show the highest "Ratios" for doctoral productivity (Table 4-1):

TABLE 4-1
THE TWENTY-FIVE NEGRO HIGH SCHOOLS LISTED IN THE
HIGH SCHOOL ROSTER AS HAVING THE HIGHEST RATIOS
OF 1957-1962 DOCTORATE PRODUCTIVITY TO 1952 GRADUATES

Name and Location	Ratio,			Unique Qualities of School
	No. of Doctorates, 1957-1962	No. of Grads., 1952	No. of Docts. to Grads.,	
Wayne Co. Training School, Jesup, Ga.	3	14	7.0	Nothing distinctive known to writer. Family connection probable.
Douglass H.S., Bristol, Va.	2	15	7.5	A city with a tradition of educated pastors, and the production of scholars. This was the home of Charles S. Johnson, sociologist. His father, a college graduate, and pastor, exerted strong influence in sending young men to college.
Dunbar H. S., Okmulgee, Okla.	3	23	7.6	A small city; Negro families generally in good financial circumstances; long line of able teachers and principles.
Langston H. S. Johnson City, Tennessee	2	18	9.0	Nothing distinctive known.
J. C. Corbin H.'S., Pine Bluff, Ark.	3	28	9.3	School was named for J. C. Corbin, a Northern Negro college graduate who served as State Superintendent during Reconstruction. The state college for Negroes sent its faculty children to this school.

TABLE 4-1 (continued)

THE TWENTY-FIVE NEGRO HIGH SCHOOLS LISTED IN THE
HIGH SCHOOL ROSTER AS HAVING THE HIGHEST RATIOS
OF 1957-1962 DOCTORATE PRODUCTIVITY TO 1952 GRADUATES

Name and Location	No. of Doctorates, 1957-1962	No. of Grads., 1952	Ratio, Docts. to Grads.,	Unique Qualities of School
Douglass H.S. Key West, Fla.	2	21	10.5	The fact that many British West Indies migrants with a sound basic education and high motivation have lived here may be important.
State St. H.S. Bowling Green, Kentucky	3	32	10.6	City population includes number of "old," stable families; long tradition of college attendance, especially at excellent colleges not far distant.
Trinity H.S., Athens, Ala.	3	34	11.3	Now public, as the Trinity School this was a missionary school with high standards, and a tradition of sending its promising graduates off to other American Missionary Association colleges. It became a public school only in the late 1930's.
Dunbar H.S., Lynchburg, Va.	3	36	12.0	With Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian high schools, Lynchburg families had a long college-going tradition. Thomas Jesse Jones observed in inspecting the Lynchburg schools in 1913, that there was a public high school for Negroes, taught by white teachers: "Lynchburg is one of the few Southern cities where Southern white people continue to teach in public colored schools."
Talladega Coll. H.S., Talladega, Ala., and Drewry H. S. (Same)	2	25	12.5	Now discontinued, this high school, like the college, was maintained by the American Missionary Association of the Congregationalist Church.
Mary Potter H. S. Oxford, N.C.	5	76	15.2	Until the late 1930's this was a school maintained by the Presbyterian Church. Many students were sent to college, principally Presbyterian. We suspect most of these

TABLE 4-1 (continued)

THE TWENTY-FIVE NEGRO HIGH SCHOOLS LISTED IN THE
HIGH SCHOOL ROSTER AS HAVING THE HIGHEST RATIOS
OF 1957-1962 DOCTORATE PRODUCTIVITY TO 1952 GRADUATES

Name and Location	No. of Doctorates, 1957-1962	No. of Grads., 1952	Ratio, Docts. to Grads.,	Unique Qualities of School
Xavier Prep. Sch., New Orleans, La.	5	81	61.2	doctorates attended Mary Potter in its private days. The 1952 graduation class of 76 is much larger than in private days.
Anderson H.S. Austin, Texas	7	129	18.6	This school has been the preparatory school for Xavier University, a Catholic institution in New Orleans. It catered to middle class families in New Orleans, principally Catholic, as Gilbert Academy did principally for middle class Protestant Negro families.
Washington H.S. El Dorado, Ark.	2	39	19.0	Nothing distinctive known.
Blackshear H.S. Hearne, Texas	2	40	20.0	Nothing distinctive known.
Camden Academy, Camden, Ala.	2	40	20.0	Nothing distinctive known.
Oktibbeha County Trng. Schl., Starkville, Miss.	2	42	21.1	In a "black-belt" county (Wilcox), with a great disparity in expenditures for white and Negro public schools, some 35 Lutheran, and 5 Presbyterian schools, gave a much better education to the Negro children than might have been expected. Camden Academy was well-staffed; it sent many graduates off to college.
McDonough #35, New Orleans, La.	9	190	21.1	Nothing distinctive known; the fact that Starkville is a "college" town (though white) may have significance.
				Until the late 1930's, this was the only public high school for Negroes in New Orleans. It held to a college

TABLE 4-1 (continued)

THE TWENTY-FIVE NEGRO HIGH SCHOOLS LISTED IN THE
HIGH SCHOOL ROSTER AS HAVING THE HIGHEST RATIOS
OF 1957-1962 DOCTORATE PRODUCTIVITY TO 1952 GRADUATES

Name and Location	No. of Doctorates, 1957-1962	No. of Grads., 1952	Ratio, Docts. to Grads.,	Unique Qualities of School
Butler H.S., Hartsville, S. C.	2	44	22.0	preparatory curriculum, and laid stress on the attainment of high rank in class, a prerequisite for the city's normal school, and entry into the local school system.
Henderson Inst., N. C.	2	45	22.5	Nothing distinctive known.
Lincoln H.S., Kansas City, Mo.	8	184	23.0	This was a private, Presbyterian sponsored high school, with a college preparatory tradition of long and excellent duration.
Louisa Co. Trng. Schl. Louisa, Va.	2	47	23.5	This school had a long tradition of excellence, developed early in the latter years of the 19th Century when salaries were relatively high for Negro teachers, and high school attendance for Negroes was limited to the topmost social classes. Lincoln in Kansas City, Kansas; and Sumner, in St. Louis, Mo., and Kansas City, Kansas, were similar to Dunbar, in Washington, in type of faculty, program, and goals.
				Located in a farm-owning community; affected by the influence of Hampton Institute; with schools staffed by well-trained teachers, principally from Hampton.

Certain insights develop from a contemplation of the High School Roster.

In the large, "de facto" segregated high schools of Northern cities, the ratio indicating doctoral productivity contrasts sharply with the

smaller, frequently missionary-sponsored schools of the South. It will be noted, for example, that in Chicago, the Du Sable High School has a ratio of one doctorate to 224 graduates; its older institutional mate of the South-Side "Black Belt" and ghetto, Wendell Phillips, shows a ratio of 68.3. No less than twenty-one of the 94 high schools showing a productivity of two or more doctorates, are of the "missionary," Northern Church-supported variety. Conversions of all of these institutions from privately-supported to state-supported institutions, has meant much larger enrollments, and the substitution for the 1952 comparisons of much larger graduation classes than were characteristic of the institutions when they were private in nature, and when most of their doctorates were produced. It has also been followed by a change in the pitch and tempo of motivation.

The typical mission-sponsored high school in the South was staffed by teachers, — either Northern Negroes who had attended denominational colleges in their own section — who were zealous in directing their graduates onward, and upward. At the Lincoln Normal School, at Marion, Alabama — a Congregationalist, American Missionary Association school — the teaching staff, made up principally of Northern spinsters, delighted in sending their promising graduates on to colleges of the A. M. A. persuasion — Fisk University, Talladega College, Atlanta University. The Presbyterian schools in North Carolina — Mary Potter, Henderson Institute, — were staffed principally by graduates of Lincoln University, in Pennsylvania; they encouraged their graduates to attend this institution; and they did, in considerable numbers. In the second quarter of the 20th Century, the Lincoln School in Alabama began to diversify the collegiate distribution of their graduates; they sent them on to cooperating Northern colleges — Antioch, Oberlin, and elsewhere. From Morehouse College in Atlanta came men who encouraged their students to go to Morehouse; and from Morehouse, for graduate work at a fellow-Baptist institution, Brown University.

On a national basis, a total of 59,473 doctorates were awarded from 1957 through 1962. There were 1,196,000 high school graduates in 1952. The ratio between doctorates awarded in the period from 1957 through 1962 to high school graduates of 1952, was 1 to 20.1. While differences in time lapse between high school graduation and the award of the doctorate might affect the results, it appears, from Table 4-2, that of these 22 states, only Oklahoma Negroes bettered

TABLE 4-2
RATIO OF 1957-1962 DOCTORATES TO 1952 HIGH SCHOOL
GRADUATES BY STATES

Rank Order	State	No. of Schools	No. of Doctorates	1952 Graduated	Ratio
1	Oklahoma	14	21	377	1 to 17.9
2	Louisiana	18	37	938	1 to 25.3
3	Mississippi	23	29	737	1 to 25.4
4	Kentucky	10	18	481	1 to 26.7
5	Arkansas	13	19	541	1 to 28.4
6	Kansas	1	5	144	1 to 28.8
7	South Carolina	22	35	1,077	1 to 30.8
8	Georgia	27	45	1,458	1 to 32.4
9	Tennessee	18	30	1,036	1 to 34.5
10	Virginia	25	40	1,395	1 to 34.9
11	Missouri	13	28	1,006	1 to 35.9
12	North Carolina	37	55	2,043	1 to 37.1
13	Texas	42	63	2,392	1 to 37.9
14	West Virginia	3	3	118	1 to 39.3
15	Alabama	35	52	2,088	1 to 40.1
16	Delaware	2	3	121	1 to 40.3
17	Maryland	8	22	978	1 to 44.4
18	Florida	18	25	1,209	1 to 48.4
19	District of Colum.	3	19	1,116	1 to 58.7
20	Indiana	2	5	352	1 to 70.4
21	Ohio	1	2	145	1 to 72.5
22	Illinois	4	13	1,070	1 to 82.3
Total		336	566	19,704	1 to 34.8

the National average. The apparent difference here shown between the ratio between the ratio of Negro doctorates and the high school graduates of segregated Negro high schools, and all doctorates and all high school graduates — (1-34.5, 1-20.1), would of course be much larger had a wider sampling of the large “de facto” segregated high schools of such cities as Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, New York, and Los Angeles, been included.

Striking in this Table is the apparent superiority of Negroes of the State of Oklahoma. Correlations with such possible associated factors as: per cent of home ownership for the Negroes of these states; the ratio of school teachers to the total population (since so large a proportion of the doctorates are the children of school teachers); the number of college presidents and professors, for a similar reason; gave at best a small positive *rho* of (.31) for a relationship between home ownership and rank in doctorates.

The schools for Negroes in Oklahoma were clearly superior to

those of other segregated States. The salaries paid were higher and attracted teachers with superior training from other States.

Perhaps the best explanation is a kind of selective migration difficult to establish statistically. From the time the State was opened for settlement in 1889, it is probable that it attracted Negroes from the neighboring States of Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas, with an eagerness for advancement beyond that of their more rooted fellows. In one respect, it was a different kind of migration than that more recently in progress among Negroes, and poorer whites, to the North, and to the Pacific Coast; these were most frequently from rural areas to large urban complexes. The Oklahoma entrants were migrating from one rural-centered culture, to another, where acquisition of new land was the attraction.

THE COLLEGIATE ORIGINS

It will be recalled, that two samples have been available for this study. One, is the supply of questionnaires submitted by 517 doctorates; the other, the records of 1,482 graduates of predominantly Negro colleges, who received their degrees between 1920 and 1962, and whose data cards were made available by the Office of Scientific Personnel of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council. Very few white students had graduated from any of these institutions by 1959; one of the 49 doctorates ascribed to Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, in the publication, *Doctorate Production in United States Universities, 1920-1962*, is known to have been a white graduate of the college class of 1929; and there may have been an occasional white graduate of Howard University included. Although there has been a considerable change in the racial composition of the enrollment in many of the colleges concerned in very recent years, it is believed that the graduates of formerly "Negro" colleges were 99.9% or more classifiable as "Negroes" at the time these data were collected, so complete was the system of racial segregation in Southern colleges.

Three hundred and sixty-three of the 1,292 doctorates who had graduated from one of the 52 segregated institutions from which one alumnus responded, returned the questionnaire; a percentage of 27.1%. Of the 494 respondents in the Bond Sample, 73.4% were graduates of Negro colleges, 26.6% of "integrated" colleges, practically all of which were located in the North. This percentage does not in fact represent the relative number of Negro doctorates whose education was received in Southern, segregated colleges; and in Northern, integrated colleges; our mailing lists were heavily loaded

with the names of teachers in Southern colleges. However, the fact that these questionnaires were circulated in 1960-1962, before the present vogue for employing Negro doctorates in Northern institutions had assumed serious proportions, suggests that the proportion of Negro doctorates trained in segregated Southern colleges in all probability exceeds 50% of the total number of all Negro doctorates, and may indeed be in the neighborhood of a two-thirds proportion.

The 131 doctorates (who constituted 26.4% of our questionnaire respondents) who had graduated from Northern, "integrated", colleges, and who replied to our questionnaire, were principally teachers in Southern, segregated institutions; as stated above, the vogue for employing Negroes in Northern higher educational institutions had not, at the time the questionnaire was circulated, and returned, assumed the proportions of today. Of the 131 respondents to our questionnaire who reported graduation from an integrated undergraduate college, 57 had attended segregated high schools before college entrance; of the 363 questionnaire respondents who had graduated from Negro colleges, only 44 had attended integrated high schools before entry to college. These persons were likely to be graduates of such institutions as Howard University, Fisk University, Lincoln University (Pa.), Virginia State College, and Hampton Institute, from whence they returned to the North for their graduate studies.

The Negro colleges vary widely in the rate at which they have produced doctorates. Table 4-3 gives a rank order for male doctoral productivity, while Table 4-4 gives the order for females. The rate of production of male M.D.'s by 9 schools is presented in Table 4-5.

TABLE 4-3
RANK ORDER OF PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO COLLEGES IN MALE DOCTORAL PRODUCTIVITY MEASURED BY THE RATIO BETWEEN DOCTORATES PRODUCED AND THE NUMBER OF BACCALAUREATES GRADUATED, 1920-1955*

Name of Institution	Number of Male Doctorates	Ratio 1 Doctorate to Number of Baccalaureates
Talladega	44	13.3
Fisk	59	18.8
Morehouse	93	24.7
Lincoln (Mo.)	34	27.0
Huston-Tillotson	13	27.8
Hampton	59	29.0
Virginia State	55	30.6

TABLE 4-3 (CONTINUED)

RANK ORDER OF PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO COLLEGES IN MALE
DOCTORAL PRODUCTIVITY MEASURED BY THE RATIO BETWEEN
DOCTORATES PRODUCED AND THE NUMBER OF
BACCALAUREATES GRADUATED, 1920-1955^a

Name of Institution	Number of Male Doctorates	Ratio 1 Doctorate to Number of Baccalaureates
Maryland State	6	33.3
Knoxville	18	34.2
Paine	9	34.2
Dillard	15	35.7
Lincoln (Pa.)	50	38.3
Va. Union	42	40.9
Wilberforce	25	45.6
Texas Southern	8	50.0
Central State	8	50.6
Livingstone	11	51.0
Johnson C. Smith	31	51.2
Prairie View	32	54.1
Leland	6	58.6
Tuskegee	42	59.5
N.C. College	20	59.5
Howard	133	61.0
Kentucky State	13	61.6
Alcorn	15	62.6
Delaware State	14	64.0
Southern	27	66.2
Fayetteville	3	66.6
Ala. A. & M.	9	67.3
Langston	17	69.1
Ark. A. M. & N.	14	71.0
Morgan State	26	72.8
West Va. State	29	73.3
Jarvis Christian	1	76.0
Tougaloo	6	77.0
Cheyney State	4	77.0
Bluefield State	6	77.1
Shaw	11	80.4
A. & T. (N. C.)	32	84.8
Xavier	14	86.0
Tenn. A. & I.	25	88.4
Texas College	9	93.8
S. C. State	20	97.6
Philander-Smith	3	98.3
Fort Valley	3	101.0
Benedict	7	110.4

TABLE 4-3 (CONTINUED)

RANK ORDER OF PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO COLLEGES IN MALE
DOCTORAL PRODUCTIVITY MEASURED BY THE RATIO BETWEEN
DOCTORATES PRODUCED AND THE NUMBER OF
BACCALAUREATES GRADUATED, 1920-1955°

Name of Institution	Number of Male Doctorates	Ratio 1 Doctorate to Number of Baccalaureates
Ala. State (Montgomery)	15	116.3
Miles	3	118.5
St. Paul	2	120.0
Bishop	8	122.6
Fla. A & M.	14	131.4
Elizabeth City	1	140.0
Rust	2	160.0
Lane	4	161.2
Winston-Salem	2	186.0
Albany State	1	190.0
Jackson State	3	192.0
Morris Brown	4	228.0
Allen	3	232.0
Savannah State	9	233.2
St. Augustine	2	246.0
Miss. Ind.	1	360.0

*This table is derived from I.B.M. cards kindly supplied by the National Research Council
Spelman, Bennett, Grambling, Lemoyne, and Coppin State were reported as having no
male doctorates. Clark, Claflin, and Wiley were inadvertently omitted.

TABLE 4-4

RANK ORDER OF PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO COLLEGES IN
FEMALE DOCTORAL PRODUCTIVITY MEASURED BY THE
RATIO BETWEEN DOCTORATES PRODUCED AND THE
NUMBER OF BACCALAUREATES GRADUATED, 1920-1955°

Name of Institution	Number of Female Doctorates	Ratio 1 Doctorate to Number of Graduates
Talladega	11	80.4
Howard	52	84.4
Fisk	22	94.1
Central State	3	100.6
Spelman	13	100.3
Miss. Ind.	3	133.3
Wilberforce	7	146.1
Hampton	15	152.2
Langston	8	198.7
Shaw	8	210.3
Kentucky State	6	240.0

TABLE 4-4 (CONTINUED)

RANK ORDER OF PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO COLLEGES IN
FEMALE DOCTORAL PRODUCTIVITY MEASURED BY THE
RATIO BETWEEN DOCTORATES PRODUCED AND THE
NUMBER OF BACCALAUREATES GRADUATED, 1920-1955°

Name of Institution	Number of Female Doctorates	Ratio 1 Doctorate to Number of Graduates
N. C. College	8	265.0
Bennett	6	271.0
Tougaloo	2	282.0
Bluefield State	3	325.0
Lincoln (Mo.)	4	328.0
Tenn. A & I	9	329.3
Lamoyne	2	334.0
W. Va. State	6	354.0
Dillard	2	364.0
Knoxville	2	369.0
Xavier	3	382.6
Morgan State	6	393.6
S. Carolina State	6	400.0
Va. State	8	426.7
Southern	6	444.1
Paine	1	455.0
Livingstone	2	457.5
Coppin State	1	460.0
Huston-Tillotson	2	478.5
Miles	2	499.0
Morris Brown	2	516.0
Allen	3	525.0
Va. Union	3	567.0
Alcorn	2	581.0
Savannah State	3	584.0
Philander-Smith	1	592.0
Johnson C. Smith	2	600.0
Grambling	3	610.0
Florida A & M	4	625.5
Jackson State	2	667.5
Texas College	2	697.5
Benedict	2	701.5
A & T College of N. C.	2	768.5
Ark. A. M. & N.	2	795.0
Ala. State (Montgomery)	5	805.0
Rust	1	846.0
Fort Valley	1	980.0
Lane	1	1,083.0
Prairie View	3	1,118.0

TABLE 4-4 (CONTINUED)
RANK ORDER OF PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO COLLEGES IN
FEMALE DOCTORAL PRODUCTIVITY MEASURED BY THE
RATIO BETWEEN DOCTORATES PRODUCED AND THE
NUMBER OF BACCALAUREATES GRADUATED, 1920-1955*

Name of Institution	Number of Female Doctorates	Ratio 1 Doctorate to Number of Graduates
Fayetteville	1	1,173.0
Bishop	1	1,344.0
Ala. A & M	1	1,693.0
Winston-Salem	1	1,995.0

*Lincoln (Pa.) and Morehouse were colleges for men in this period, infrequently graduating a woman. Claflin, Clark, and Wiley were inadvertently omitted when the I.B.M. cards for predominantly Negro Colleges were requested from the National Science Council's study of Doctoral Productivity.

TABLE 4-5
PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO COLLEGES WITH 25 OR MORE MALE
GRADUATES RECEIVING M.D. DEGREES DURING 1950-1959,
WITH COMPARATIVE DATA FROM OTHER STUDIES¹

Colleges	Male M.D. Gradu- ates	Male M.D. Index (Percent)	Male Scholars per 1,000 grads ²	Science doctorates per 1,000 ³ graduates	This Ratio of Male doctoral productivity
Talladega	31	13.0	...	8.2	1-13.3
Fisk	61	10.8	10.3	2.1	1-18.8
Lincoln U. (Pa.)	79	10.7	...	...	1-38.3
Howard	280	9.3	7.0	1.0	1-61.0
Morehouse	86	8.1	3.0	2.8	1-24.7
Virginia Union	26	3.2	4.4	1.2	1-40.9
Hampton	33	3.0	...	1.3	1-29.0
Florida A.&M.	27	2.4	1.9	...	1-131.4
Tennessee A. & I.	26	2.1	3.0	0.4	1-88.4

The Graduate School Origins

From the records kept by the Office of Scientific Personnel, from 1920 to 1962, the 30 baccalaureates from predominantly Negro colleges who earned doctoral degrees from 1920-1929 pursued their studies at only 14 American universities. By contrast, the 220 who earned their degrees in 1961 and 1962 did so at 58 of the 184 doctorate producing institutions listed in *Doctorate Production in United States Universities, 1920-1962*. The 94 institutions from which 1,478 doctorates in this study earned their degrees are presented in Table 4-6.

The early limited choice of the Negro doctoral aspirant was dictated by legal restrictions in Southern States, and by the refusal of

some Northern institutions to admit Negroes to doctoral as well as to other studies. Another limiting factor was the drive that led the Negro youth, if obliged to study outside of his region, to go only to the most renowned institutions, whether for law, for medicine, or for advanced academic studies. The chosen fourteen Universities of the first decade, 1920-1929, were: Clark (Mass.), Harvard, Radcliffe, Yale, Columbia, Ohio State, University of Cincinnati, M. I. T., Cornell, University of Pennsylvania, Chicago, Wisconsin, the State University of Iowa, and Washington University.

As more Universities in the North and West instituted doctoral studies; and as successful litigation opened, first, opportunities for graduate studies in border and Southern states, the choice widened. Three factors accelerated graduate studies, especially for Southern Negroes engaged in educational work. The first was a program of

TABLE 4-6
DOCTORAL DEGREES AWARDED BY AMERICAN
UNIVERSITIES TO 1,478 GRADUATES OF PREDOMINANTLY
NEGRO UNDERGRADUATE COLLEGES, 1920-1962

Institution	Number	Institution	Number
Columbia University	144	Univ. of Cincinnati	5
New York University	128	Fordham University	5
Ohio State Univ.	112	Howard University	5
Univ. of Chicago	84	Univ. of Kansas	5
Univ. of Michigan	75	Mass. Inst. of Tech.	5
Indiana University	68	Univ. of Missouri	5
State Univ. of Iowa	68	Radcliffe	5
Cornell University	62	Univ. of Tennessee	5
Univ. of Wisconsin	58	N. C. Coll. at Durham	4
Univ. of Pennsylvania	57	Univ. of Maryland	4
Pennsylvania State Univ.	47	Univ. of Nebraska	4
University of Illinois	33	Univ. of Rochester	4
Boston University	32	Clark Univ. (Mass.)	3
Univ. of Pittsburgh	32	Univ. of Connecticut	3
Harvard University	31	Drew University	3
Catholic University	30	John Hopkins Univ.	3
Michigan State Univ.	30	Univ. of Kentucky	3
Iowa State University	18	Geo. Peabody Coll.	3
Univ. of Minnesota	17	Okla. State Univ.	3
University of Texas	17	Springfield College	3
Univ. of Oklahoma	15	Univ. of Washington	3
Univ. of Sou. Calif.	14	Brown University	2
Northwestern Univ.	14	Univ. of Buffalo	2
Univ. of Calif. at Berkeley	13	Calif. Inst. of Tech.	2
Temple University	11	Univ. of Delaware	2
Rutgers University	10	Univ. of Oregon	2

TABLE 4-6 (CONTINUED)
DOCTORAL DEGREES AWARDED BY AMERICAN
UNIVERSITIES TO 1,478 GRADUATES OF PREDOMINANTLY
NEGRO UNDERGRADUATE COLLEGES, 1920-1962

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Institution</u>	<u>Number</u>
Kansas State University	10	Univ. of W. Virginia	2
American University	9	Univ. of Ala.	1
University of Colorado	9	Carnegie Tech.	1
Univ. of Denver	9	Chic. Musical Coll.	1
Wayne State Univ.	9	S. Dakota State	1
Western Reserve Univ.	9	Dropsie Coll.	1
Purdue University	8	Duquesne Univ.	1
Stanford University	8	Illiff Sch. of Theol.	1
Syracuse University	8	Sou. Ill. Univ.	1
Wash. State Univ.	8	Ill. Inst. Technol.	1
Univ. of Calif. at L.A.	7	La. State Univ.	1
Georgetown University	7	Loyola (Chicago)	1
Washington University	7	Marquette Univ.	1
Yale University	7	Univ. of New Mex.	1
Colorado State Coll.	6	New Sch. of Soc. Res.	1
University of Mass.	6	Princeton	1
Notre Dame University	6	Rice	1
Univ. of Arkansas	5	St. Bonaventure	1
Oregon State Univ.	2	Tulsa	1
Univ. of Virginia	2	Vanderbilt	1
Geo. Washington Univ.	2		

Total — 1,478 Doctorates: 94 institutions

fellowship assistance for graduate study, initiated by the General Education Board in the early 1920's; the aid principally going to college faculty personnel in the Southern colleges. In the 1930's the Julius Rosenwald Fund began a program that included the creative arts; and that was exceedingly helpful in enabling a number of aspirants to complete their graduate studies for the doctorate.

The post-war application of the G. I. Bill has been the third major factor in stimulating studies for the doctorate among Negro students. The effect of recently established federal scholarship and fellowship programs will doubtless prove to be a fourth important accelerating factor at work in this area.

There is speculation as to what effect the desegregation of Southern graduate schools will have on the output of Negro doctorates. Table 4-7 shows the output of recently desegregated graduate schools.

The attendance of Negroes at the University of Oklahoma, at the University of Kentucky, at George Peabody College, at the University

TABLE 4-7
OUTPUT OF DOCTORATES BY RECENTLY DESEGREGATED
UNIVERSITIES FROM 1920-1962 OF PERSONS WHO HAD
GRADUATED FROM PREDOMINATELY NEGRO COLLEGES

Institution	Year First Such Degree Was Awarded	Total Number Awarded, 1920-1962
Univ. of Texas	1940	17
Univ. of Oklahoma	1953	15
Univ. of Arkansas	1958	5
Univ. of Missouri	1954	5
Univ. of Tennessee	1959	5
Univ. of Maryland	1935	4
Univ. of Kentucky	1961	3
Oklahoma St. Univ.	1954	3
Geo. Peabody Coll.	1959	3
Univ. of Delaware	1953	2
Univ. of Virginia	1953	2
Univ. of W. Va.	1934	2
Univ. of Alabama	1957	1
La. State Univ.	1959	1
Princeton Univ.	1962	1
Rice University	1951	1
Univ. of Tulsa	1962	1

of Tennessee, and at the University of Texas, has been stimulated by fellowship awards tenable to these institutions made available to educators at these institutions by the Southern Education Foundation. Undoubtedly the growing accessibility of these institutions to Negroes will accelerate the production of doctorates; this writer this fall (1966), has heard such comments from the Southern University officials, "We had (at the University of Georgia), more than 200 Negroes enrolled in summer school, or, from the University of Alabama, "We have 400 Negroes enrolled this Fall."

The doctoral fields in which the graduates of Negro colleges have earned their doctorates vary considerably from the national distributions. This is set forth in Table 4-8, below. Proportionately the percentage of Negroes who take degrees in Education is three times that in the Nation; while the proportions of those taking degrees in Engineering and Geo-Sciences is microscopic, and in Mathematics and in all of the Sciences except Biology, the proportion is far below the national distribution.

More so than in the general population, these figures reveal that the doctorate among Negroes is in truth a degree tied to teaching; it

TABLE 4-8

DISTRIBUTION OF DOCTORATES BY MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY: A COMPARISON OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLE, THE OFFICE OF SCIENTIFIC PERSONNEL, NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES SAMPLE, AND THE NATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF DOCTORATES AWARDED IN 1957

Doctoral Fields	The Questionnaire Sample		N.R.C. Negro Colleges Sample		N.R.C. National 1957 Distribution		N.R.C. Negro Variance from National (% Surplus or Deficit)
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Mathematics	13	2.5	23	1.6	256	3.0	- 87.5
Physics and Astronomy	14	2.7	17	1.1	462	5.4	- 390.9
Chemistry	32	6.3	98	6.6	1,042	12.1	- 83.3
Geo-Sciences	..	..	2	0.1	185	2.1	- 2,100.0
Engineering	2	0.4	3	0.2	590	6.9	- 3,450.0
Agr. Sciences	19	3.7	54	3.7	275	3.2	+ 76.5
Bio. Sciences	50	9.8	192	13.0	1,262	14.6	- 32.3
Med. Sciences	3	0.6	12	0.8	97	1.1	- 37.5
Psychology	14	2.7	66	4.5	723	8.4	- 86.6
Soc. Sciences	107	21.1	230	15.6	1,101	12.9	+ 72.6
Arts and Humanities	75	14.8	165	11.1	1,162	13.5	- 21.6
Education	162	31.9	586	39.7	1,375	16.0	+ 303.0
Miscellaneous Professions	16	3.1	30	2.0	70	0.8	+ 400.0
Total	507	100.0	1,478	100.0	8,600	109.9	

is probable that a larger proportion of the recipients come from the families of teachers than in the general population; and that pursuit of the degree is more closely tied to advancement in some branch of an educational career, than to careers in the public service or in industry.

LITERATURE CITED

The Secondary, Collegiate, and Graduate School Background of the Negro Doctorate. The basic references and documents for this chapter have been:

The High School Roster. This is an ms. tabulation of doctorates that includes the data from the *Directory of Secondary Day Schools 1951-1952*, and the number of doctorates from 1957-1962.

Lindsey R. Harmon and Herbert Szold. Compilers. *Doctorate Production in United States Universities, 1920-1962*. Publication No. 1142, National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, Washington, D.C.

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Other references have been:

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- (1). William A. Manuel, M.D., and Marion E. Altenderfer, M.D., Public Health Service. Public Health Monograph No 66. "Baccalaureate Origins of 1950-1959 Medical Graduates." pp. 22-29. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, Public Health Service Publications, No. 845, 1961.
- (2). Knapp, R. H., and Greenbaum, J. J., *The Young American Scholar: His Collegiate Origins*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.
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— CHAPTER 5 —

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEGRO DOCTORATE

It will be remembered, that the data for this study were derived principally from several sources. The first was the older study by Harry Washington Greene, *Holders of Doctorates Among American Negroes* (Boston: The Meador Press, 1946). This book, employing questionnaires, and a personal survey, listed the names of 389 Negroes who had earned academic doctorates through 1943; and their universities, their major place of employment, their collegiate background, their major fields of study, their universities, and the title of the dissertation where available.

This writer also used a questionnaire; 517 replies were received from some fifteen hundred persons located through Negro college catalogues; an excellent list that had been kept up through the years by President Rufus E. Clement, of Atlanta University; and inquiries directed to degree-awarding and employing, institutions. Additionally, the Office of Scientific Personnel provided nearly fifteen hundred I.B.M. cards of persons identified through the code number of the baccalaureate-awarding institutions, with the knowledge that these institutions had been thoroughly segregated in their student and graduating class rosters. The Office of Scientific Personnel also provided the writer with a run of its *High School Roster*, for the high schools that had been listed as predominantly Negro in the 1952 *Directory of Secondary Day Schools* published by the Office of Education, to which list were added a number of high schools in the North known to the writer as *de facto* segregated institutions of long standing. These runs also included the number of graduates of the high school who had earned doctoral degrees from 1957-1962.

While the information sought by the Office of Scientific Personnel in recent years will in time provide a broader basis for comparisons, as new questions have been added designed to give more information about the doctoral background, at the present time (1966) little comparative information is now available. We now present some of the descriptive comparisons that are available in various studies.

Time Lapse Between Bachelor's And Doctorate Degrees

In Table 5-1 below, a comparison is made between the time lapse between baccalaureate and the doctorate, from our predomi-

nantly Negro college cards, for the entire period from 1920-1962, and the data presented in *Doctorate Production in United States Universities*.

TABLE 5-1

COMPARISON OF TIME LAPSE BETWEEN BACCALAUREATE AND DOCTORATE, FOR TOTAL UNITED STATES DOCTORAL OUTPUT, 1920-1962, AND DOCTORATES FROM PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO COLLEGES

Major Fields	Graduates of Negro Colleges	National Sample
Mathematics	10.5	8.2
Physics	7.3	7.4
Chemistry	8.0	6.5
Agriculture	10.2	8.7
Biological Sciences	10.2	8.7
Psychology	10.4	8.7
Social Science	12.0	10.6
Art and Humanities	15.1	11.4
Religion and Theology	7.8	11.2
Education	17.9	14.9
Total	13.3	9.8

Note that in Religion and Theology were the only major fields in which Negro doctorates have a reliable advantage over the national average. Can it be that this is the one field in which it has been possible, for many years, for a Negro student to find readily available funds for assistance in completing doctoral studies?

The extremely long lapse for persons in Education — 17.9 years — reflects several conditions. One, is the difficulty of getting released from regular employment as a teacher or administrator; another, of course, is the lack of adequate funds, when working on relatively low salaries. With new federal aid, and several fairly substantial philanthropies making concentrated efforts to up-grade predominantly Negro faculties through subsidizing doctoral studies, we should now be in a greatly improved condition to accelerate the completion of such studies. Another factor, of course, has been that the Southern Negro teacher had to travel hundreds, if not a thousand miles or so, to find an institution that would accept him for doctoral studies. The desegregation of graduate facilities close to home should be another stimulant, both to more such students, and to greatly reducing the time-lapse.

Sex Distribution

The study, *Doctorate Production in United States Universities*, shows that of all doctorates awarded to women by five-year periods between 1920 and 1960, there was a range from 15.3% in the period from 1925-1929, to a low of 9.3% in the period, 1950-1954. Our figures for this study show in our predominantly Negro college sample, from the Office of Scientific Personnel, 286 of 1,478 doctorates from 1920-1962 were women, or 19.28%. Our questionnaire sample of 517 subjects in an all-comprehensive period from 1896 to 1960, shows that 82 (15.89%) were females. The large percentage of our doctorates taking degrees in Education doubtless swells this percentage beyond the ordinary.

Parental and Grand-Parental Education

The typical doctorate for whom we have a questionnaire reply was born in 1916. An inspection of their life-histories suggests that fore-shortened "generation" span of thirty or fewer years was probable; hence, the typical doctorate had parents who had been born typically in 1880 and 1890, and grand-parents, from 1850- to 1860. Most of the parents, and many of the grand-parents, had been born in a period when public school education — of a limited sort — had been available to them, even in the farthest South.

Each respondent was asked to indicate whether the parent, or grand-parent, had received any formal education; and, if so, what was the last grade that had been completed. With 517 possible answers for each parent and grand-parent, upwards of fifty per cent of the respondents replied that they did not know specifically how much education their grand-parents had received. Another one-quarter of the respondents did not answer the question.

It will be remembered, that only approximately 10% of all Negroes in the United States in 1860 were free; the laws of the slave states where 290,000 of the 490,000 free people lived, generally made it a criminal offense to teach a slave to read or to write; and restricted the education of the free colored people by legal means, principally by a proscription against an assembly of five or more free colored persons without the presence of a white man.

The following Table 5-2 sets forth what our respondents say they know about the education of their parents and grand-parents:

One point made by this table is, that through three generations one moves from grand-parents, who are collectively known to have earned 37 collegiate and higher degrees; to 517 subjects of this study,

TABLE 5-2
THE EDUCATION OF THE PARENTS AND GRAND-PARENTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLE AS
REPORTED BY THE SUBJECTS

	Father		Mother		Paternal		Maternal	
	No.	%	No.	%	G.F.	G.M.	G.F.	G.M.
Don't know how much, if any	18	3.6	12	2.4	101	106	123	101
No formal education, but learned to read and write	2	0.4	8	1.6	254	208	255	215
Received some formal elementary schooling	192	36.8	145	28.8	61.1	52.4	66.4	53.5
Received some high school education but not completed	87	16.8	139	27.6	10	20	14	18
Completed high school but no more	61	11.8	52	10.4	8	21	10	11
Received some college education	30	5.8	62	12.5	6	23	4	6
Completed college (bachelor's)	68	13.3	40	7.9	8	4	3	4
Did some graduate work	15	2.9	30	5.9	2	4	1	1
Received advanced professional degree (Theological, Medical or Dental, Academic doctorate, legal or other)	44	8.5	15	2.9	6	1.5	4	1.0
TOTALS — Numbers	517		517		416	397	384	402
— Percent	100.0		100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

all of whom have earned baccalaureate degrees on the way to their doctorates and of parents who represent family combination siblings. Although the time-period differs, the educational background of the questionnaire sample greatly resembles, in the education of parents, that displayed in Laurence D. Brown's study of doctorates in education, for the period 1956-1958.¹

Parental and Grand-Parental Occupations

G. Franklin Edwards, in a study of Negro Professionals in Washington, D. C., has shown the increasing tendency in the Negro group for socio-economic status to be transmitted from generation to generation. (Table 5-3).

TABLE 5-3
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PATERNAL GRANDFATHERS,
FATHERS, AND ALL ADULT SONS, BY PERCENT²

Occupational Class	Grandfathers	Percentage Distribution	
		Fathers	All Adult Sons
Professionals	12.6	31.8	63.6
Proprietors	12.6	12.0	5.4
Clerical	3.5	15.4	9.8
Skilled	12.6	10.2	7.1
Semi-skilled	5.2	6.2	3.8
Farm Owners	33.9	7.8	1.7
Protective Service	2.3	0.2	1.7
Service, Others	2.9	12.0	3.6
Farm Laborers	8.1	0.4	0.4
Laborers, Others	6.3	4.0	2.8
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0

A comparison of Edward's findings for Washington, D. C., professionals, and for the academic sample based on questionnaires received, shows a remarkable similarity where the grandfathers are concerned; but the proportion of sons whose fathers were in agricultural pursuits is nearly three times as high for the academic doctorates, as for the Washington, D. C., professionals. A ready explanation is that medicine and law are professions most likely to attract "native sons" back home than college or University employment. It is also notable that Howard University has maintained two of the largest training schools for Negro lawyers and physicians and dentists.

Tables 5-4, 5-5, and 5-6 show how the "Upper" occupational classes contribute to the ranks of the academic doctorates out of all proportion to their numerical size. Forming 1.1% of the Negro working force in both 1910 and 1920, the grandfathers of doctorates who were

TABLE 5-5
COMPARISON OF EDWARD'S CATEGORIES OF THE OCCUPATIONS
OF FATHERS AND OF GRANDFATHERS OF WASHINGTON
PROFESSIONALS WITH THE QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLE OF
ACADEMIC DOCTORATES

Occupational Class	Grandfathers		Fathers	
	Edward's Study	Bond Study	Edward's Study	Bond Study
White Collar	20.7	27.7	59.2	53.4
Blue Collar	29.3	27.2	32.6	22.8
Farm	42.0	45.1	48.2	23.8

professionals were 15.3 times as numerous in our sample as might be expected from the proportion of the Negro male working force in 1910; there were 35 times as many professionals among the fathers of the academic doctorates as might have been reported in the 1920 census. On the basis of numbers in the population, one might have reported 99 of the 408 doctorates for whom we have parental occupational information, to have been the children of farm laborers. Only 26 were.

TABLE 5-4
COMPARISON OF "EXPECTANCY RATE" BETWEEN
OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF FATHERS AND GRANDFATHERS OF
DOCTORATES AND THE ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION OF ALL
NEGROES AS SHOWN BY THE 1910 AND 1920 CENSUS FIGURES
Ratio of Occupations of Grandfathers of Doctorates to Actual Negro Males
1910 Census

Occupational Class	Doctorates			Distribution All Negroes		Ratio Actual to Expected	
	No.	%	%	%	%		%
I. Prof. & Tech. Workers	80	16.8		1.1		15.3	
II. Proprietors, Mgrs., & Officials	47	9.9		1.1		9.9	
III. Clerical & Sales Workers	5	1.1		1.1		1.0	
White Collar Sector	132		27.7		3.3		8.4
IV. Skilled Workers & Foremen	86	18.1		3.6		5.0	
V. Semi-skilled Workers, Laborers, & Service Workers	43	9.0		37.5		.24	
Manual & Service Sector	129		27.2		41.1		.66
VI. Farms (Owners & Tenants), Farm Foremen	200	42.0		25.5		1.6	
VII. Farm Laborers	15	3.1		30.1		.10	
Farm Sector	215		45.1		55.6		.81
Grand Total	476	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		

TABLE 5-4 (Continued)

Ratio of Occupations of Fathers of Doctorates to Actual Negro Males
1920 Census

Occupational Class	Doctorates			Distribution All Negroes		Ratio Actual to Expected	
	No.	%	%	%	%	%	%
I. Prof. & Tech. Workers	157	38.5		1.1		35.0	
II. Proprietors, Mgrs., & Officials	37	9.1		1.0		9.1	
III. Clerical & Sales Workers	24	5.9		1.4		4.2	
White Collar Sector	218		53.4		3.5		15.25
IV. Skilled Workers & Foremen	46	11.1		4.4		2.5	
V. Semi-skilled Workers, Laborers, & Service Workers	47	11.5		42.9		.27	
Manual and Service Sector	93		22.8		47.3		.48
VI. Farmers (Owners & Tenants), Farm Foremen	71	17.4		24.9		.69	
VII. Farm Laborers	26	6.5		24.3		.27	
Farm Sector	97		23.8		49.2		.48
Grand Total	408	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		

A list of 83 doctorates who were born in 1920 and later shows 34 children of professionals; of teachers, 13 (including 4 school principals, a college dean, and another college official); of ministers, 13; of lawyers, 2; of physicians, 2; of dentists, 2; of a pharmacist, 1; and of a county agricultural agent, 1. Nine were the children of farm owners, 3 of contractors, 7 did not give the father's occupation, and 4 said their father was a share-cropper. Four said their father was a laborer, and 2, a pullman porter. Three were the children of janitors; other occupations reported by 1 doctorate were: merchant, tailor, steel worker, hotel waiter, barber, traveling clothes salesman, manager of a Veterans Administration Office, railway mail clerk, clerk, sea cook (who had been the son of a sea cook), coal miner, postal clerk, shoe repairman, a supervisor of blue print department in a Navy yard, a plumber, and a flower designer.

The employment of Negro teachers in Northern cities in a proportion below their share of the population, as compared to the South, must be regarded as one important factor in the lower productivity rates of Negro doctorates in the North.

Of the same small sample, 12 had graduated from integrated high schools in the North; none from a "de facto" segregated Northern high school. Sixteen had graduated from a "private" high school, or

from a high school making the transition from control by a church agency, to public control; all but one of these schools had completed the transition by 1955. Included here as “private” secondary schools, are schools conducted by several state colleges, including those of Delaware, West Virginia, Southern University and Florida A. and M. University. The facilities of these “laboratory” high schools were invariably superior to those of publicly controlled city or county high schools. The only graduate of a Northern private high school was from the University of Chicago High School, who later took his bachelor’s degree at the University of Chicago at the age of 15, and his doctorate when 19. It may be added that his father, a lawyer, and his mother, were Phi Beta Kappa graduates of the University of Illinois.

In Brown’s study of 1956-1958 doctorates in Education, 51.6% had fathers in white-collar occupations, 44.4% in blue-collar occupations, with 3.9% not responding to the question.³ In our questionnaire sample, “professionals” predominated, as shown in Table 5-6. A striking difference between the doctorates in Education, and the Negro doctorates, is the small percentage of the former whose fathers were in Education. As our latest questionnaire sample showed thirteen of 76 (17.1%) doctorates who had been born since 1920 reported that their fathers had been engaged in education, as compared to only 4.5% of the Education doctorates of Brown’s study.

TABLE 5-6
PERCENTAGE OF DOCTORATES RECEIVING UNDERGRADUATE DEGREES FROM PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO COLLEGES, AND FROM INTEGRATED COLLEGES, BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF FATHER

Occupational Class	From Integrated Colleges		From Negro Colleges		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional and Technical	50	47.6	104	39.2	154	41.4
White Collar Total	71	67.6	142	53.6	213	57.6
Blue Collar Total	34	32.4	123	46.4	157	42.4
Total	105	100.0	265	100.0	370	100.0

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3. *Op. Cit.*, p. 60

— CHAPTER 6 —

THE "INTELLIGENCE" OF THE NEGRO DOCTORATE

I. INTRODUCTION

The question of inherent racial differences in mental capacity has been argued since Linnaeus, in the early 17th Century, first published his *Systema Naturae* and attempted the first scientific classification of mankind into American-European, Mongolian and Negro. Linnaeus' classification was followed by that of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840), sometimes called the father of anthropology. Beginning with the notion that language differences marked racial differences, out of which conception the Aryan "race" was invented, studies based on alleged discrepancies in physiological — usually cortical and cranial-differences alleged to exist between the races have been maintained from the 18th Century down through the invention of the intelligence test, and, indeed, well into the twentieth Century. Darwin's work and the principle of evolution were adapted to fit into racial differences.¹

Cranial measurements and brain weights, and the relative complexity of cortical processes, have all characterized the controversy. Almost curiously enough, arguments and "studies" made fifty, even a hundred years ago — at a time when knowledge of the human cerebral mechanism was at least slightly less advanced than it is today, appear in contemporary literature with no diminution of conviction.²

The introduction of the "intelligence" test was the occasion for finding a new basis on which to rest claims for racial, and even nationalistic, differences in mental capacity. *Memoir XV*, reporting the results of the administration of Army *Alpha* and *Beta* to Army recruits during World War I, was sponsored by the greatest psychologists in the United States, who gave their implicit blessing to the racist explanations conveyed by the findings of this first wide-scale administration of a group "intelligence" test, that Carl C. Brigham made more explicit in his *Study of American Intelligence* published in 1923.³ Although perhaps now the great majority of anthropologists, psychologists, and sociologists eschew racial interpretations of test scores, the opposite opinion is held with vigor by a number of distin-

guished persons in psychology and in the biological sciences, and probably in other disciplines.

The most vigorous representative of this group is Dr. Henry E. Garrett, formerly Professor of Psychology at Columbia University, and more recently a Lecturer in Educational Psychology at the University of Virginia. Dr. Garrett is a frequent pamphleteer in defense of his opinions.

This writer has heard it said, by a Professor at a great American University, that a number of Negroes earned their doctorate degrees at his, and at other Universities, because the professors were inclined to be sorry for them, and to grant them special favors in spite of admittedly inferior attainments as compared to other doctoral students.

The statement was made at a Conference on the Higher Education of Negroes held in Washington, D.C., in 1956.

A special investigation of this subject therefore seemed appropriate.

II. THE "INTELLIGENCE" OF NEGRO ACADEMIC DOCTORATES

The Office of Scientific Personnel, of the National Academy of Sciences — National Research Council, has published the only study known to this author, of the "intelligence" test scores of academic doctorates.⁴ The Office, in order to do this, took ". . . the whole 1958 crop of doctorates from American Universities."⁵ The high school background of these doctorates was examined, and an effort made to obtain the "intelligence" test score made by each of 8,930 doctorates of 1958 while in high school.

The Office received 6,259 "usable" replies from the high schools; which was, as the *Report* states, "an astonishingly high response rate."⁶

In our *Study*, a much smaller number of responses was available. One reason was, that our Study covered the Negro doctorates of record from as far back as 1866, to 1962; the practice of administering tests did not become well-established in high schools until the 1940's, in the colleges until the 1930's, and even today is not universal, by any means, in graduate schools.

Our method was, to correspond with undergraduate colleges, with graduate schools, and otherwise to find scores where they could be found. The undergraduate files of a number of colleges were opened to the investigator: the institutions agreeing to this kind of research were Lincoln University, Pennsylvania (where the investigator had been President, and during his tenure as President facilitated his own access to the student personnel files for this purpose); Howard Uni-

versity, Washington, D. C.; Morehouse and Spelman Colleges, Atlanta, Georgia; and Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Additionally, the investigator found in his files, a record of an investigation made in 1938 by Mr. Fred McQuiston, then of the General Education Board, with headquarters in Nashville, Tennessee, where the investigator at the time was a Professor in the Faculty of Fisk University. This investigation was of Negro graduate students then enrolled in Negro graduate schools; Atlanta University, Fisk University, Hampton Institute, Howard University, North Carolina College, and Xavier University of New Orleans. Mr. McQuiston had administered the American Psychological Examination, then distributed by the American Council on Education; when he dissolved his office in Nashville, he gave many of the documents in his file to the investigator, who fortunately preserved them through the years. Many of the students whom McQuiston tested in 1938, were found, later, to have gone on to other institutions, where they earned the academic doctorate.

Admittedly, the data on "intelligence" test scores collected by the investigator is of dubious value. Testing, it appeared, had become fashionable in 1930's. But the tests were administered and scored — as the results showed — by persons with a wide range of statistical and other test-taking equipment; in almost all cases, they were given as part of a procedure that increasingly became highly ritualized; the results were duly recorded, and no use at all was ever made of them. An expensive academic ritual! The only exception noted was in the Morehouse College-Spelman College combination in the Atlanta University complex, where Mr. H. A. Whiting, from 1925 to 1955, sedulously administered the tests; organized the results; and made recommendations to college authorities with reference to sectioning on the basis of "ability" groupings, that were actually accepted — at least for the Freshman year.⁷

Likewise, it should be noted that correspondence with graduate schools was largely fruitless. Few had, by 1962, adopted testing as a part of the machinery for initial admission, or evaluation. The investigator — who earned his doctorate at the University of Chicago, School of Education — found that the School of Education at Chicago had administered a test of its own — developed by L. L. Thurstone when he was a member of the Faculty in the early 1920's — since the early 1920's. The University of Chicago School of Education, through its Recorder, Herman G. Richey, supplied the investigator with 16 scores made by Negroes who had earned doctorates from the School

of Education; but the only score the School would identify with a name, was that of the investigator. The 16 scores did not include a number of students who were admitted, possessing a master's degree from some other institution; it may be interesting here to note that the 16 scores supplied ranged from a 9%-ile, to a 98%-ile, (the norms were based on School of Education scores) with a median at approximately the 57%-ile when compared to the scores for all School of Education students.⁸

Covering the period from 1920 to 1958, another factor limiting interpretation was the variety of tests used. Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, provided the earliest test scores; of Freshmen, Sophomores, and Juniors, tested in 1920 with the Thurstone, Experimental IV test, which greatly resembled Army Alpha. The early Otis, the Iowa Quick Scoring, and the American Psychological Examination, the latter promoted by the American Council on Education, were favorites of the 1920's, and of the 1930's.

The investigator tried to use the same technique employed by Lindsey R. Harmon, in reducing multi-form test scores to a common denominator; that common denominator being adjusted equivalent scores on the Army General Classification Test (AGCT). The procedure is described in Harmon's article, "High School Background of Science Doctorates."⁹ But all of Harmon's scores were registered in high school; all of our scores were made in college or on the graduate school level, against the background of a much more highly selected competition. A further limitation on any comparison we make here, with Harmon's sample, is that 2,853 of his 6,259 cases (45.5%) were in the fields of science, whereas only 21.7% of our test sample was in Science, with a majority (55.1%) in Education, a field where scores are always found to be lower than in the Sciences.¹⁰ (Table 6-1).

In interpreting the test data, likewise, it should be noted that practically all of the scores were those made by (a) graduates of almost wholly Negro colleges, and (b) that the students tested were from the Southern region. Regional differences are seldom mentioned in the literature but that they have formerly existed in the Southern Region, and probably do so today, may be seen in the institutional scores published in the *Educational Record* in the early 1930's. The accompanying Table 6-2, shows that in the 1932 administration of the Psychological Examination, only two Southern institutions (then altogether white) had percentiles above 50; and the median institutional percentile for Southern institutions, not including the two Negro institutions listed, was 27.

TABLE 6-1

A COMPARISON OF PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATION SCORES TRANSLATED INTO AGCT SCORES FOR LINDSEY HARMON'S NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL'S DOCTORAL SAMPLE OF 123 PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATION SCORES FOR NEGRO DOCTORATES TRANSLATED INTO AGCT SCORES

Score Intervals	Estimated Distribution of AGCT Scores in the General Population			Estimated Distribution of AGCT Scores in the NRC Doctoral Population (High school scores used)			Estimated Distribution of AGCT Scores in the Negro Doctoral Population (College and graduate level percentiles used)		
	No.	%	Percentiles	No.	%	Percentiles	No.	%	Percentiles
170 and Up	530	.02	99.97 - 100.00	46	1.29	98.71 - 100.00	..	...	...
160-169	2,670	.11	99.86 - 99.97	101	2.83	95.88 - 98.70	2	1.62	98.35 - 100.0
150-159	12,150	.50	99.36 - 99.86	337	9.48	86.40 - 95.87	9	7.31	91.03 - 98.35
140-149	39,250	1.63	97.71 - 99.36	530	14.86	71.54 - 86.39	12	9.75	81.27 - 91.03
130-139	108,000	4.50	93.22 - 97.71	826	23.15	48.39 - 71.53	26	21.13	60.14 - 81.28
120-129	218,200	9.09	84.13 - 93.22	806	22.10	25.79 - 48.38	22	17.88	42.22 - 60.14
110-119	361,800	15.07	69.05 - 84.13	520	14.58	11.21 - 25.78	12	9.75	32.49 - 42.22
100-109	457,400	19.05	50.00 - 69.05	298	18.35	2.86 - 11.20	18	14.63	17.86 - 32.49
90-99	457,400	19.05	30.94 - 49.99	81	12.27	0.59 - 2.85	7	5.69	12.17 - 17.86
80-89	361,800	15.07	15.86 - 30.94	15	0.42	0.17 - 0.58	6	4.87	7.29 - 12.17
70-79	218,200	9.09	6.77 - 15.86	7	0.00	0.00 - 0.16	7	5.69	1.60 - 7.29
Below 70	162,600	6.77	0.00 - 6.77	...	...	...	2	1.62	0.00 - 1.62
	2,400,00			3,567	132.18		123	128.14	
					mdn.			mdn.	

TABLE 6-2

SOUTHERN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION'S PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATIONS, ADMINISTERED IN THE FALL, 1932 (AS PUBLISHED IN THE *EDUCATIONAL RECORD*, pp. 184-190, VOL. 14, NO. 2, APRIL, 1933)

Institutions	Median Score	National Percentile Equivalent	National Rank in 195 Institutions
Vanderbilt Univ., Tenn.	175.7	57	60.5
Rollins College, Fla.	173.6	55	66.0
Southern Methodist Univ., Tex.	165.9	50	84.0
Fla. State Coll. for Women, Florida	152.8	42	122.5
Maryville Coll., Tenn.	150.5	41	130.0
Emory Univ., Georgia	147.7	39	137.0
Univ. of Florida, Fla.	142.8	35	151.5
Washington & Lee Univ., Va.	141.4	34	153.0
Birmingham-Southern Coll. Alabama	139.6	33	159.0
Texas A.&M. Univ., Texas	132.2	29	171.0
Arkansas St. A.&M. Coll. Arkansas	130.8	28	174.0
Baylor Univ., Texas	129.5	27	175.0
Texas Tech. Coll., Texas	128.8	27	176.0
Va. Polytechnic, Va.	128.1	27	177.0
Alabama Coll., Alabama	124.1	25	181.0
Centenary Coll., La.	123.5	24	182.0
Emory Jr. Coll., Georgia	115.0	20	185.0
Lynchburg Coll., Va.	114.2	20	186.0
Univ. of N. C., N. C.	112.3	19	187.0
Spring Hill Coll., Ala.	109.2	18	188.0
Ga. State Women's Coll., Ga.	108.2	17	189.0
University of Ga., Ga.	99.7	14	190.0
Southwestern La. Inst., La.	98.6	13	191.0
Univ. of S. C., S. C.	97.2	12	192.0
Univ. of Alabama, Ala.	95.7	11	193.0
Va. Union Univ., Va.*	95.6	11	194.0
Bennett Coll. for Women, N. C.*	78.3	6	195.0

Score from 1931 Administration of Test

*Negro Institutions

When the occupations of fathers were compared to test scores, we find X^2 as follows:

For the children of white collar workers, 5.28 with 5 degrees of freedom;

For the children of manual laborers, 7.03 with 5 degrees of confidence.

It is frequently observed, that some of the lowest scores in tests

made by members of our sample, were made by subjects whose parents were engaged in the most menial of occupations; and who had in their background, the poorest parental education, and a history of the greatest isolation, geographically and socially defined. One of our lowest scorers, whose permission we have to quote both his scores (a 12%-ile in the Thurstone Experimental IV test in 1920, in which the subjects were principally students in highly selective colleges in the Northeastern United States), is a man (Colonel Hildrus A. Poindexter, Parasitologist, United States Public Health Service; see document, appendix), who came from one of the most deprived cultural situations of any of our subjects. Our highest scoring student (Samuel P. Massie) (with a 99.7%-ile in the American Psychological Examination as a beginning graduate student in 1938), is now a Professor of Chemistry in the United States Naval Academy; his father was a college teacher, and his mother has taught in elementary and high schools.

No analysis is available to date of the scores on tests made by academic doctorates, related to their parental occupations and education, with which this study could be compared; the office of Scientific Personnel has only recently begun to collect this information. But, it is the strong conviction of this writer, that the doctorates whose AGCT unit scores reported by Harmon's study,¹¹ that are below 100, would be found to be those of persons who, in early youth, were isolated in some manner from the main-stream of American life; either through coming from illiterate or partially illiterate families; or from isolated agricultural or industrial communities; or from foreign-language homes; or, generally, from "culturally" or "economically" disadvantaged circumstances. The language factor is all-important; in a very real sense, these are persons who in early youth lived in homes approximating that of a foreign language, or foreign culture, student. It may be well to keep in mind, the admonition to Deans of Medical Schools, appearing in the 1956 *Manual* of the Medical Aptitude Test, to discount scores made on that examination by foreign students, or even by American born students reared and educated abroad. We believe many of our subjects in this Study make low scores on standard tests because they are, in truth, the children of a language and culture truly "foreign" to the main-stream of American life, and that the test score may well mask their true ability.

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3. C. C. Brigham, *A Study of American Intelligence*. Princeton: University Press, 1923.
4. Lindsey R. Harmon, "High School Backgrounds of Science Doctorates," *Science*, Vol. 133, No. 3454, March 10, 1961, pp. 679-688. Reprinted without paging.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Mr. H. A. Whiting's records are now filed with the Dean of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia.
8. Letter from Herman A. Richey, March 15, 1962.
9. *Op. cit.*
10. See Manuals, *Graduate Record Examination; National Teacher Examination*.
11. Harmon, *Op. cit.*

— CHAPTER 7 —

THE GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGINS OF THE NEGRO DOCTORATE

By Regions and by State

Of 511 questionnaires giving the doctorate's birthplace, ten had been born in the West Indies, and one in Africa. The remaining 500 were distributed by regions of the United States as follows (Table 7-1):

TABLE 7-1

DISTRIBUTION OF REGIONAL BIRTHPLACE OF DOCTORATES BY RANK ORDER ACCORDING TO RATIO TO NEGRO POPULATION IN 1920

Region	Number of Doctorates	Negro (1920) Population	Ratio
New England	16	79,051	1 to 4,940
Mountain	3	30,801	1 to 10,267
West North Central	24	278,521	1 to 11,605
East North Central	35	514,514	1 to 14,700
Middle Atlantic	35	600,183	1 to 17,148
South Atlantic	216	4,325,120	1 to 20,023
Pacific	2	47,790	1 to 23,895
East South Central	100	2,523,532	1 to 25,235
West South Central	69	2,063,579	1 to 30,526
United States	500	10,463,091	1 to 20,926

By states, the questionnaire sample, arranged by rank order of productivity ratios, is as shown in Table 7-2.:

The high productivity of Massachusetts is remarkable. We have no ready answer, although it would be crucial to find one. When the thirteen cases are inspected, six were born in Boston, 2 in Cambridge, and one each in Springfield, New Bedford, Great Barrington, Pittsfield, and Winchester. The education of the father was above our general median; one father had a doctorate from Yale, one a dental degree from Harvard University, and the other fathers had from an eighth grade to junior college study. Two fathers were ministers, one was a court officer, one a dentist, one a Y. M. C. A. executive after being a teacher, one was a tailor, one a salesman, one a specialized postal clerk in charge of accounting, one a janitor, one a tailor, one a head-waiter, and two had occupations not given. One mother was a

TABLE 7-2
RANK ORDER OF STATES IN DOCTORAL PRODUCTIVITY
MEASURED BY RATIO OF DOCTORATES FOR THE 1920 NEGRO
POPULATION (QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLE)

State	Number of Doctorates	Negro Population 1920	Ratio
Maine	1	1,310	1,310
Utah	1	1,446	1,446
Massachusetts	13	45,466	3,497
Wisconsin	1	5,201	5,201
Colorado	2	11,319	5,659
Dist. of Columbia	18	109,966	6,109
Kansas	7	57,925	8,275
Indiana	8	80,810	10,101
Missouri	17	178,241	10,484
Connecticut	2	21,046	10,523
Oklahoma	14	149,408	10,672
Illinois	15	182,874	12,191
Virginia	54	690,017	12,777
New Jersey	9	117,132	13,014
Pennsylvania	20	284,568	14,288
Kentucky	16	235,938	14,746
Florida	20	329,487	16,474
North Carolina	45	763,407	16,964
Ohio	10	186,157	18,618
California	2	38,763	19,381
Tennessee	20	451,758	22,582
South Carolina	33	864,719	26,203
Alabama	34	900,652	26,489
West Virginia	3	86,345	28,781
Delaware	1	30,335	30,335
Texas	24	741,694	30,903
Mississippi	30	935,184	31,172
New York	6	198,483	33,080
Georgia	35	1,206,365	34,468
Maryland	7	244,479	34,925
Arkansas	13	472,220	36,324
Louisiana	18	700,257	38,903
Michigan	1	60,082	60,082
West Indies	10	(Not Available)	
Africa	1	(Not Available)	
TOTAL	511	10,383,054	20,724

college graduate, another had some college education, two reported high school graduation, including the Cambridge Latin, and one was reported as having had no formal education. A West Indian father and mother were reported as having had an education in the West

Indies equivalent to an American 8th grade education. High schools reported by the doctorates included a Mississippi private high school, Utica Institute, where the father taught and was an accountant; the others graduated from Massachusetts and Connecticut high schools: Great Barrington, Springfield, New Bedford, Cambridge Latin, Boston English, Pittsfield, Roxbury Memorial, Winchester.

It is interesting to note that five of the doctorates took baccalaureate degrees in Southern Negro Colleges. These included W. E. B. DuBois, who took a bachelor's degree at Fisk University in 1888, and then a second such degree at Harvard; it was a common practice up to the mid-1920's, after which time the first degree from the predominantly Negro college degree was generally accepted by Northern graduate schools.

It is probable that the DuBois early doctorate in 1896 established something of a cultural tradition for Negro youth in Massachusetts; and, perhaps, for high school and college counselors. DuBois gave full credit to Frank Hosmer, his high school principal at Great Barrington; Hosmer advised DuBois to take the classical course, knowing this would permit DuBois to go to college.

A simple Pearsonian coefficient of correlation, ranking the productivity by states of doctorates (an index based on the ratio of doctorates to the Negro population in 1920), and comparing this rank to the rank of the States in the illiteracy of Negroes, yielded a moderate ρ of .464. When the rank order of the States with segregated schools, in doctoral productivity, is correlated with the rank of these States in Negro illiteracy, a ρ of .702 results. Apparently, there is a strong causal relationship between the prevalence of literacy in a population, and the development of persons of high academic ability from such populations.

The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Areas and Doctoral Productivity

To this writer's knowledge, there has been but one comprehensive study that attempted to establish relationships between fairly well defined socio-economic areas on the county level, and educational outcomes and prospects. This was the study published by the United States Office of Education in 1942, *National Survey of the Higher Education of Negroes*, especially that part authored by Ina Corinne Brown.¹ This study attempted a classification of Southern counties based on (1) the number of Negroes in the county (1930), (2) the trade areas, (3) the location of trade areas within the county, (4)

types of Negro colleges in the county, (5) the county type, based on its basic economy, (6) the quartile rank of the county on the basis of number of Negroes in Negro colleges per 1000 Negroes aged 15-19 in county.

For the purposes of this study, three states were selected for analysis, using Brown's criteria, and correlating the socio-economic areas there described with doctoral productivity. They were: North Carolina, South Carolina, and Alabama (Table 7-3).

TABLE 7-3
RATES OF DOCTORATE PRODUCTION IN COUNTIES CLASSIFIED
BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC TYPES IN ALABAMA, NORTH CAROLINA,
AND SOUTH CAROLINA

Socio-Economic type	Total Negro Population	Number of Doctorates	Rate to one Doctorate
IA — Farming: Cotton; no industrial diversification	230,655	19	12,139
IB — Farming: Cotton; industrial diversification	339,743	36	9,437
IIA — Farming: other than cotton no industrial diversification	64,440	9	7,160
IIB — Farming: other than cotton; industrial diversification	103,626	17	6,095
IIIA — Non-farm economy; no industrial diversification	8,296	2	4,148
IIIB — Non farm economy; industrial diversification	348,697	30	11,623

Chi square was 9.33 with two degrees of freedom, ($p < 0.05$).

*The Relationship Between the Location of the Missionary Schools,
Parental Attendance, and Doctoral Productivity*

We believe that the geographical association of the location of the private "missionary" schools and academies, when related to the birth-counties of parents and of doctorates, and to the family histories of the doctorates, is a more significant clue to the means by which Negro doctorates were formed. An inspection of the maps in the Appendix suggests the pattern. Because these schools were frequently accessible to students living in several near-by counties, an exact correspondence cannot be statistically developed. But when we note Perry county, Alabama — that from statistics of illiteracy of the population, of farm tenancy among the Negroes, and of abysmally low per capita public school expenditures for the Negro population — as, for selected counties in Alabama in 1913 — the conclusion is

inescapable, that doctorates emerged from such areas because of the intervention of such “mission” schools as the Lincoln Normal School of Marion, Perry County, Alabama; of the Camden Academy, and the numerous other Presbyterian and Lutheran schools in Wilcox county; and, in Lowndes county, of the Calhoun School that carried on, in addition to conventional class room instruction of children, extensive parent-education projects including the subsidizing of a community land-purchase scheme that was highly successful (Table 7-4).

TABLE 7-4
 1913 PER CAPITA CHILD SCHOOL EXPENDITURES FOR
 THREE ALABAMA COUNTIES

County	White	Negro
Lowndes	\$35.09	\$1.26
Perry	16.95	1.34
Wilcox	27.75	.54

By inspection one notes that counties where such schools were active were generally more productive than counties where the larger, higher missionary and private colleges were located; for example, Talladega county where Talladega college is located; or even Macon county, where Tuskegee Institute is located.

Another factor, of course, is that these small private schools were likely to have in their faculties the teachers with the best preparation, and with a superior academic tradition than the teachers in the truly wretched public schools. So great a proportion of our doctorates from these areas were the children of school principals, and of teachers, that we must include these classes as an important element in doctoral productivity. The fact that many of the private academies, and colleges, were staffed with white teachers, reduced the possible production of Negro doctorates; Tuskegee Institute was one of the few such institutions to begin, in 1881, with a policy of employing Negro teachers only; and few Negroes were in Negro college faculties until well into the twentieth century. The growth of the number of Negro college teachers in integrated and in predominantly Negro colleges, must lead in the next generation to the productivity of doctorates on a larger scale in this population.

The Inner City, “De Facto” Segregation, and Doctoral Productivity

As was pointed out in Chapter 4, the productivity rate is low in the large, *de facto* segregated slum high schools of the North and

of the South. It is clear that doctoral production begins in the home and family, and is facilitated by exposure to an elementary, and secondary school education where high motivation arises from family aspiration and faculty inspiration. These conditions evidently exist only in limited degree in those schools that deal with the lower-class child on every level in contemporary large urban centers. It is significant that the enrollment of Negroes in the colleges now established as the most prolific developers of doctorates is extremely small; while statistics are not available, inquiry of officials at such institutions as City College of New York, listed in 1960-1961 as the largest single baccalaureate producer of doctorates in the country (with 1.85% of the national total), and Brooklyn college (1.24%), in ninth place, leads to the conclusion that less than 1% of the enrollment in regular degree courses at these institutions is made up of Negroes. A recent survey of the attendance of Negroes in Pennsylvania colleges suggests that the rate is lower than in certain Southern states, and, indeed, may be lower than it was in 1952.²

Differential state rates of doctoral productivity to population are difficult to interpret in terms of specific cultural, economic, and social indices. It appears that the rate itself is a sound index to the degree of comprehensive advantage — or disadvantage — enjoyed by a population. Massachusetts Negroes lead those of other States in doctoral productivity, because, we think, they have been, during the last century, the most advantaged Negroes in the United States.

LITERATURE CITED

Geographical Origin of the Negro Doctorate

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— CHAPTER 8 —

WERE THESE THE TRULY UNDERPRIVILEGED?

16 Case Histories

We have seen that while our doctorate sample has been derived from an “underprivileged” population, they cannot, in the mass, be truly said to have come from “underprivileged” families, as measured by social status within this population. Before Emancipation, and afterward, the civic and social restraints on the employment of Negroes defies applying to them the usual rubrics of general American stratification; as we have pointed out, the amount of “under-employment” — below the level of real ability — has been the rule, rather than the exception.

The writer has chosen one index to select from the 517 autobiographies collected, those who might most clearly be classified as “underprivileged,” or “culturally” or “educationally disadvantaged” as compared to the great majority of their American fellows, both among the doctorates, and the nondoctorates. This one index selected, was that of literacy of the parents. We found that twenty of our subjects had at least one parent who was reported to have no formal schooling at all; while four reported that neither parent had received any formal schooling.

It has seemed best to present these sixteen cases as case-studies letting the presumably “underprivileged” doctorates speak for themselves. It will be seen, that their academic credentials are of the most respectable: Chicago 2, Ohio State 3, and one each from Kansas State, Pittsburgh, Cornell, Harvard, Michigan, University of California, Pennsylvania State, University of Pennsylvania, Indiana, Iowa State, Wisconsin, Indiana, Michigan State, and Columbia. They represent disciplines along the entire spectrum of academic offerings, from Mathematics to Education, as coded by the National Research Council.

Permission has been sought from three of these persons, to identify them by name; this was principally because their cases seemed peculiarly interesting in studying the rise of “underprivileged” persons to international acceptance as true scholars, and men of distinction. Others, doubtless, would have freely granted such permission, had they been asked; it is clear that the children did not think of

their parents, or of themselves, as having been "underprivileged," nor were they a whit ashamed of them.

Case A took his doctorate in Agronomy from a middle-western University. He was born in 1908 in the country, near a small Arkansas town in Central Arkansas. He attended a rural public school, and the Dunbar High School in Little Rock. For college, he attended Philander Smith College in Little Rock. His parents were farm people, tenants; neither had any formal schooling.

Case B took a doctorate from a Pennsylvania Urban University in Educational Administration. Born in Walton county, Georgia, he attended a rural school near Good Hope, Georgia, and received his high school education at the Morehouse College Academy, that provided a superior high school education for many rural or small town Georgia Negro boys before 1930, when it was discontinued. He graduated from Morehouse College. His father was reported to have had two months of schooling; his major occupation was that of a farmer, but he also preached. His mother had reached the 4th grade. Case B credited John Hope and Samuel Archer, both teachers and later presidents of Morehouse College, as having given him the greatest encouragement to pursue doctoral studies.

Case C has a doctorate in Mathematics from one of the Eastern Ivy League Universities. He was born in a coal-mining suburb of Birmingham, Alabama, where his father was a coal miner. Case C attended public schools in Jefferson County, Alabama, and his maternal grandmother became his guardian as he reached his teens after the death of his mother, in Washington, D. C. He graduated from the Dunbar High School in Washington, listed above as the largest secondary school contributor to the production of Negro doctorates of any in the country.

Case C reports that his mother, who finished the seventh grade, liked to read, and encouraged him to do so. His maternal grandmother, who became his guardian also liked to read. A domestic servant, she took adult education classes in the Washington Night Schools for adults; "she was constantly trying to press forward, and to press me forward."

Case D was the late and distinguished sociologist, E. Franklin Frazier. Frazier was born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1894. He attended public schools in Baltimore, and graduated from the Douglass High School, then known as the Baltimore Colored High School. Later he graduated from Howard University, and pursued graduate studies

at Clark University in Massachusetts before taking his doctoral degree at the University of Chicago, in Sociology.

Frazier's father was evidently one of the "underemployed" men of his generation who had a job at a level much lower than his abilities, as a confidential bank messenger. He had no formal schooling, but he had learned to read, and to calculate. His mother completed the third grade. Frazier received the high accolade of presidency of the American Sociological Society; his scholarly studies took him abroad for international studies, as well as in the United States in the study of the Negro family. As to the major influences leading him to a life of scholarship, he cited the work of W. E. B. Du Bois; and a father who "sacrificed for his children so that they could have an education, and escape from white control."

Case E was born in a rural region of Virginia in 1911. He attended a rural elementary school, and graduated from a Presbyterian Missionary school at Chase City, Virginia. He attended the Virginia State College, and took his degree from the University of Michigan. His father was a farm owner, but had no formal schooling; nor did his mother. "My parents had a strong desire that the children attain at least a college education."

Case F who became a noted historian, author, and University professor, was born in Washington, D. C., in 1897. He was educated in the public schools of Washington, and graduated from Dunbar High School. Because of his superior performance at Dunbar, he was given one of the scholarships to "little ivy league" colleges solicited by members of the faculty. He was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, and has had a long and distinguished career as a University Professor, and writer on historical and other subjects, at home and abroad. His father was another "underemployed" of his generation; he was a butler in a private family and had had "very little education," although acquiring the arts of reading, writing, and computation. His mother reached the 4th grade in a rural Virginia school; she continued her education in night school in Washington, as an adult. "For some reason," said F, "my mother was determined that I should go to college."

Case G took a degree in Secondary Education and Student Personnel at a great Western University. She attended a private, non-denomination elementary school in Atlanta, Georgia; and graduated from the Atlanta University Laboratory High School. Her father was a farm owner who separated from his wife when G was two years old, hence "no contribution from that side of the family." Her father

had no education; her mother had completed the elementary grades and obtained further education by attending night school and special nurse training courses. She was a nurse attached to the Public Health Service, attending maternity cases, and giving special care to infants during their first weeks. "Mother insisted on education for the children. This was her major aim in life. We had no choice but to comply."

Case H is the noted Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President of Morehouse College, whose name is used with permission. Dr. Mays was born in a rural setting in Epworth, South Carolina in 1896. He attended a rural school in Greenwood County, South Carolina, later graduating from the high school department of the South Carolina State College at Orangeburg. He attended and graduated from Bates College, and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa there. He took his doctorate in Religion at the University of Chicago; he is an established scholar as well as having attained world distinction as a college administrator and world religious leader. Dr. Mays was the son of a farmer-renter in South Carolina. Neither the father nor the mother had any formal schooling. Dr. Mays describes their contribution to his academic progress by saying: "They taught honesty; hard work; and they were intelligent although unschooled."

Case I who became a college Dean, was born in a rural community called Berlin, Florida. He attended rural schools in Marion, Levy, and Duval counties before entering the Edward Waters College High School, a denominational college in Jacksonville, supported by the African Methodist Episcopal Church. From this school, Case I, entered Howard University, where he graduated. He took his doctorate in Higher Education at an Eastern University. His father was a farm owner and rural merchant, who had finished the third grade in a missionary school. His mother had no formal education; she had to sign her name with a cross. She did know numbers, and could count and make change; she could read a little from newspapers. The father was characterized by "thriftiness, desire to get ahead, property ownership, race consciousness, religious leadership, love for his fellowmen." The mother is described as having "mother-wit, sagaciousness, love of learning, will-power, frugality, leadership potentialities; stick-to-itiveness, aggressiveness to educate."

Case J. was born in 1925 at Dover, Delaware. He was reared by his maternal grandparents, knowing nothing of his father, and never living with his mother. His grandfather was a farmer-renter; both grand-parents had some schooling. The grand-father wanted to edu-

cate children only through the 8th grade; the grandmother insisted that he finish high school. Case J. went on to finish high school at the Delaware State College, and Howard University, and took his doctorate in Chemistry at a Pennsylvania University.

Case K was born in Shreveport, Louisiana, in 1916. He attended public schools in Oklahoma City, graduating from the Douglass High School in that city. He graduated from college at Morehouse College, and took his doctorate in Sociology at a middle-western University. His father was butcher-farmer, and had no formal schooling; his mother finished the 8th grade. Most influential were his maternal grand-parents; his maternal grand-father had a 6th grade education and his maternal grand-mother had 2 years of college (normal school) at a missionary college in New Orleans.

Case L. was awarded a doctorate in Physical Education at a Midwestern University. He was born in 1914 in a small Pennsylvania industrial town, where his father was employed as a laborer in a steel mill. Case L attended elementary and high school in a similar town; his excellence in athletics in high school won him a scholarship to a Southern Negro State College. His father had no education; his mother attended high school for two years.

Case M was born in 1890 in a rural county in Virginia. He attended a rural elementary school and completed his high school education in the Academy maintained by Virginia Union University at Richmond, Virginia. This small Baptist institution is notable for its production of outstanding ministers and scholars; it had a small but very inspiring faculty of white and Negro teachers. Case L attended college at Howard University, and took his doctorate in History at a middle-western state University. His father was a farm owner who had no formal schooling; his mother went to the 5th grade.

Case N is an African, born in Nigeria in 1916, and now teaching in a predominantly Negro state college in the South. His father and mother were illiterate; however, his father was a man of substance being chief of his clan and town, and an administrator of the lands held communally by the clan.

"I was the only one of my father's children allowed to go to church and school from birth. The rest were forbidden and disinherited when they did. My mother fed all of the disinherited over the secret fence of our compound because none except non-christians were allowed within the confines of the family.

My brother was one of those excommunicated sons and had so great an interest in my education that he would not allow me to stay home with the un-Christian children of my age. My mother too had sym-

pathy on me and vowed that I should become something if ever the new culture (Christianity) would be anything. She had to cook a different dish for me on every meal because meat in the main dishes was sacrificed and forbidden to Christians. I was the only child of my age in my town to become Christian.

I began to stay away from home in dormitories at schools because I could speak well. My mother saw to it that I was fed well there and that I stayed there.

I know the Lord smiled upon me all my school days for I led my class from all the grades through college. I won many scholarships which for my size and age I could not utilize because of the distance of the schools where they were tenable. I planned to come to America before I went to high school. This mind set resulted from a history class on Eminent Africans where I studied the life of Aggrey! Consequently I had refused to take 3 offers to study with government aid in Universities in England. The British saw to it that I should not come over for at least ten years after I gained admission to a college here. I had to threaten to take the American Consul-General to court before I finally got my visa in April 1947, after which I happily sailed to America. Most significant of all, my mother had vowed that she would not die until I have left for America. She died a year after I left. My father died when I was in the grades. At the death of both parents and my guardian brother a few years after, I was always away at school, I know that they were satisfied as long as I was in school.

I worked and studied in America for my eight college years, knowing how difficult it was to get funds from home. Yet now my spirit is burning still for my return to school—His will be done. Of course I am also anxious to see my people, everywhere sensing the state of the present affairs of mankind.”

Case N took his bachelor's degree at one mid-western University, his Master's degree at another, and his doctorate in another. Before coming to the United States he had completed the work leading to a Cambridge Certificate (first class), at the famous Hope Waddell missionary school at Calabar; and a teacher-training course at Uyo Teacher's College, in 1938. He had taught for ten years in order to earn funds with which to come to the United States.

Case O was born at Beaumont, Texas, in 1914. He attended elementary and high schools in Beaumont, and graduated from the Prairie View State College in Texas. He earned his doctorate in Sociology from a mid-western University. His father was a foundry worker, who had no formal schooling. Nor did his mother; the parents were “Creoles” from the Cajun country of Louisiana, and the mother who worked in domestic service, did not learn to speak English until Case O and his sister entered public schools. Both parents gave the

utmost encouragement to their children, to pursue their studies; the family was subjected to a loving but firm discipline and trained in habits of careful attention to their daily activities, including rigorously preserved allotments of time for study and "home-work". Case O has had unusual success in high level research, and in the administration of research.

Case P has given permission to quote his correspondence, and to include in his account a score in an "intelligence" test administered when he entered college in 1920. He was then a Freshman at Lincoln University, in Pennsylvania; on the Thurstone Experimental Test IV, that later became the American Psychological Examination, Hildrus A. Poindexter registered a 12%-ile score. The students tested were college Freshmen in colleges, most of them located on the Eastern Seaboard, and representing principally the most highly selective institutions of that area.

Poindexter was born on a cotton-farm in Shelby County, Tennessee, in 1901. His father was a share-cropper, with no formal education; his mother completed the fifth grade in a rural Kentucky school. After completing the eighth grade in the local school, he was sent to a Presbyterian missionary school located at Rogersville, Tennessee, in Eastern Tennessee, where he graduated from high school. From this school Poindexter went to Lincoln University, in Pennsylvania, where he completed the four-year course in three and one-half years — the first time in the history of the institution that this feat had been accomplished. He then entered the Dartmouth College, 2-year medical school, completing the work with highest honors. He was later to receive an honorary degree from Dartmouth.

He then entered the Harvard University Medical School, for the completion of the work for the M. D. degree. His research capabilities had been recognized and with fellowship assistance from the Rockefeller Fund, he entered Columbia University where he took his doctorate in bacteriology in 1931.

This is Poindexter's story as told by himself:

(Paramaribo, Surinam, February 7, 1958) . . . Now about my parents and grandparents: My mother reached the fifth grade in school. She was an excellent mother, quite robust and healthy. She was born shortly after emancipation and came from slave parents in Virginia. She appeared to have only African blood. She showed considerable native intelligence but had limited formal education. She lived as child, wife and mother on the farms of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee all of her life. My mother's parents I never saw, but they were slaves until emancipation.

My father was a mulatto and took the family name of the slave owner. My father's mother I have never seen. My father's father I remember seeing when I was a small child. He was a white man who rode in a surrey drawn by two fine horses. My father inherited a strong body and a rather fiery temper. He never attended any formal school. He always worked on the farm, rarely clearing a hundred dollars a year for the whole family. My father, by West Tennessee Delta farm standards, was considered a good tenant farmer. He never owned a farm. He worked the year around farming, hunting, trapping, etc.

In spite of the tenant and share-cropper status, his children were well fed, poorly clothed and poorly housed. There was always plenty of meat, potatoes, milk (non-pasteurized), butter, molasses, vegetables and fruits, fresh or canned, available. In spite of the demands of a large family, 20 bales of cotton each year from the land allotted to him, my father insisted on his rights to plant large vegetable gardens for the family and to have cows, hogs, chickens, fruit trees, etc. We, children, never had more than a nickle per week to spend on Saturday at the store, until we were old enough to go out for extra work, but we always had plenty to eat. Thus, the children grew up physically healthy, but only one chose to continue education beyond the high school level.

I began primary school at age 7 years. Because of the difficulty of regular attendance at school in the rural district (8 miles walk daily), 8 years were required to complete 7 years of primary school. Average attendance: 4 months.

There seemed to be no decent future for an ignorant Negro farmer in the Delta of West Tennessee. But I noticed as a small boy, that there were certain Negroes who were respected in the community. Among them were a Negro doctor, a Negro Minister and a Negro school principal. These intellectuals were my inspiration and stimulated my desire to "escape" from a life of ignorance and poverty. With my life savings of \$40.00, at the age of 14 years, I left farm, bed, board and security to enter a Presbyterian high school and normal school at Rogersville in East Tennessee. I have not been back except for vacations.

There were three people who supported this rupture with the family and the beginning of an "adventure"; viz., my mother, the local Negro doctor (Dr. Byas) and the Presbyterian minister who also was my primary school principal, Rev. H. L. Peterson. It was Rev. Peterson, a Johnson C. Smith graduate, who arranged for me to enter Swift Memorial High School at Rogersville, Tennessee, as a special student. I could not qualify for regular admission because of the poor rural elementary background. At Swift Memorial in Rogersville, I had three jobs as well as taking three more extra subjects each semester, than were required of other students. I had no other social ties so I merely worked and studied. In order to pay for my board, tuition and buy clothes the three jobs were:

a) Firing the boiler to keep the girl's dormitory warm at night.

- b) Cleaning up a bank building in the town of Rogersville in the afternoons — after school hours.
- c) Milking a cow and making a fire in the kitchen stove and living room of a rich family in the city every morning. For this I received a good breakfast and a few dollars each week.

I left Rogersville three months before the close of school in 1920, because I had finished all the required high school subjects and most of the normal school subjects. I left in order to work in Detroit to make money to come to Lincoln University.

Even though my marks qualified me for valedictory of my high school class, as you know my diploma was held up because I left before commencement. The record shows that I finished the 4 years required high school courses within three years.

A sequel to Poindexter's narrative of his youth, is the following

TROPICAL DISEASE FIGHTER RETIRES AFTER 34 YEARS

Atlanta Daily World 5-27-66

After 34 years of public service, Dr. Hildrus A. Poindexter, medical director of the U. S. Public Health Service, has decided to roam the world no more.

Now 64 — he reached that age on May 10 — Dr. Poindexter retired on May 25 to his home in Clinton, Md., where he intends to complete work on more than 30 scientific papers and be available for special assignments.

During the past 30 years, he has observed or worked to eradicate illness and disease in 75 foreign countries and traveled more than half a million miles by all modes of transportation.

Commenting on his professional services Dr. Luther L. Terry, the U. S. Government Surgeon General, said: "The Government of the United States had formally recognized these efforts, but the wear and tear of assignments in Laos, Iraq, Viet-Nam and many other places have left their marks."

Dr. Poindexter's speciality has been in the field of tropical disease. He has received numerous honors and decorations for his work as malariologist and epidemiologist. Looking back, he regards his efforts in aiding the development of local personnel as "the main thrust" of his success. He has labored, he says, to "pass on leadership" in the art of combatting local diseases to officials of developing nations — a thing grossly neglected by the Colonial system. "I have tried to work with, not for, less fortunate people," Dr. Poindexter says, "and all Americans should do the same."

The tropical disease fighter began his career among the rural communities of Alabama and Mississippi, where he worked from 1934 to 1937 organizing treatment centers for the control of venereal disease, malaria, and intestinal parasites. These diseases had brought misery, illness, and even death to hundreds of underprivileged people in these areas.

In 1939, he obtained leave from a position on the faculty of Howard School of Medicine at Howard University to undertake work with the School of Tropical Medicine, San Juan, Puerto Rico. This activity carried him into the underdeveloped areas of seven countries of South America and five major Caribbean islands in the quest of knowledge for the control of diseases endemic to these areas.

The years, 1943 to 1945, were spent by Dr. Poindexter — then an Army Lieutenant Colonel — in preventing and controlling malaria among personnel in the Southwest Pacific. The Presidential Citations credited him with having reduced the malaria rate among American Military personnel in his immense 900,000 square mile area by 85% in 6 months.

During this period, he served as epidemiologist and parasitologist with the 19th Medical General Laboratory and as an instructor in tropical disease control measures with the 93rd Infantry Division. He did special dysentery vaccine studies with the 369th Infantry Regiment and carried out special studies in immunology, epidemiology and parasitology with the 27th General Hospital, 19th Medical Laboratory and the 318th Medical Battalion.

In 1947, Dr. Poindexter resigned his commission in the Army Medical Corps of the U. S. Public Health Service. His first duty assignment in the Health Service was as chief of Laboratory and medical research with the agency's mission in Liberia.

He was appointed to the regular corps of the Public Health Service in 1948 and promoted to medical director. The same year, he was the recipient of the Welcome Award from the Association of Military Surgeons for his studies of lymph small pox vaccine, which he was using to control a small pox epidemic in Liberia.

Dr. Poindexter is credited with providing much of the inspiration and leadership toward the establishment by the Firestone Tire and Rubber interests of the Liberian Institute of Tropical Medicine.

In 1954 he was in charge of the health problems created by transferring 800,000 refugees from North to South Vietnam. In citing him for an honorary degree in 1955, Dartmouth College said that "few men have had the opportunity — and seized it — of saving so many human lives." He has published more than seventy technical articles in scientific journals.

Summary

It is clear from reading these accounts, that we need sharper definitions of our descriptions of the "underprivileged", and of the "culturally disadvantaged." The Negro doctorates who tell their stories in this chapter had, almost universally, the "privilege" of being born to a mother or having some other relative in a key position in the family — of indomitable will, and ambition for her children and for their future.

It was usually the case, likewise, that they were "privileged" by having contact with an inspiring teacher, — in elementary school, or in secondary school, or in college.

Almost all were "privileged" in having attended a superior secondary school. No less than six of the sixteen attended high school departments of state and private colleges, at a time when public high schools for Negroes in the South were few in number. Two attended missionary high schools. Two attended what was undoubtedly the best high school for Negroes in the country: the Dunbar High School, in Washington. Douglass High School, a public institution, in Baltimore; the Dunbar High School, in Little Rock, Arkansas; the Douglass High School in Oklahoma City, also public; and the Negro high school in Beaumont, Texas, were all of superior quality. Even if public, and urban, the Negro High School before 1930 was likely to be an institution with a small enrollment, staffed principally by graduates of the excellent though small private colleges maintained by missionary effort, and enrolling students from what were the Negro upper and middle classes of the times.

Some parts of this prescription for identifying and encouraging the development of "persons of unusual talent" from an "underprivileged population" can be filled by entirely manageable steps. Others are more difficult.

LITERATURE CITED

1J. K. E. Aggrey came to the United States in 1898 from the Gold Coast (Ghana). He entered the denominational college — Livingstone at Salisbury, North Carolina — and graduated in 1902. Thereafter he taught Mathematics in the college for 19 years; he then engaged in several surveys of African education under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and was finally appointed Vice-Principal of the Prince of Wales College (the Achimote School) in 1923. A most eloquent man, Aggrey had immense influence in encouraging Africans from all over the continent to go on for advanced education. His example induced many to come to the United States.

See: Edwin W. Smith, *Aggrey of Africa*. London: Student Christian Movement, 1929.

This chapter was derived principally from autobiographical accounts in the questionnaires, from supplementary accounts submitted by the subjects, and from interviews. Published sources include Edwin W. Smith cited above.

— CHAPTER 9 —

SUMMARY, FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of Procedures and Methods

The data for this Study were derived from four principal sources, and consisted of six sets of material.

In the first instance, questionnaires were mailed to more than 1,200 persons, whose names and addresses were taken from (a) a master list of Negro doctorates collected and maintained by Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University; (b) catalogues of predominantly Negro colleges; (c) letters of inquiry to the Tuskegee Institute Department of Research and Information, and to various college and University officials. Nearly three hundred of these letters were returned for reason of faulty addresses; we received 517 replies from the remainder, and so can presume that the percentage of response of those receiving the questionnaire was upwards of 50%. This percentage was considered to be quite satisfactory, considering the involved and personal nature of the questions asked.

Personal interviews were held with a number of the doctorates, and with members of their families. Personal correspondence was instituted with these persons, to collect additional information about the family history not called for in the Questionnaire.

The Office of Scientific Personnel of the National Academy of Sciences and the National Research Council made available to the investigator copies of 1,478 IBM cards, representing all of the graduates of all but four of the colleges known to be predominantly Negro, whose doctoral production was listed in the volume, *Doctorate Production in United States Universities, 1920-1962*. Additionally, the Office of Scientific Personnel permitted this investigator to examine the *High School Roster*, listing doctoral production by high schools from 1957-1962. By matching this list with the 1952 Office of Education publication, *Directory of Secondary Day Schools, 1951-1952*, that listed high schools by race; and by applying knowledge about *de facto* segregated Northern high schools, useful conclusions could be drawn regarding the production of Negro doctorates graduated from these high schools.

Information regarding "intelligence" test scores was obtained from an inspection of several hundred undergraduate transcripts of doctorates in a number of institutions; and through correspondence with several Universities.

Finally, the literature was useful, especially in providing a number of autobiographical accounts by Negro doctorates of their personal and family history. A number of published and unpublished family histories of white families provided helpful information regarding certain Negro families who had been associated as slaves or retainers of those white families. National, State, and County archives were also helpful.

Methods

The Descriptive-Survey method was originally set forth as the principal Method to be used in conducting this Study.

Techniques used included, the Questionnaire; Interviews; review; the collection and analysis of existing test data; case and group studies based on life and family histories, and on school and college personnel records; and geographical mapping, drawn both from published studies, and from spot location mapping of the data derived from the materials collected in the course of this Study.

Findings

There are approximately 1,600 to 1,800 living Negro academic doctorates. Precision is not possible because, with the growth of "Fair Educational Practices Laws" in Northern States since 1945, it has been unlawful to keep records in many States and Universities by race. We estimate the yearly production at about 160, or 1% of the total annual American output.

The location of the birth-places of doctorates, and of their parents and grand-parents, led us to the realization that family relationship, and the family history, had important influences on the production of academic doctorates. The production of doctorates who were siblings, cousins, and otherwise closely related, was in a degree far beyond normal expectation. The kinship combinations included:

- Four brothers and one sister
- Two brothers and a sister
- Two brothers and a female cousin
- Two instances of two brothers and a male cousin
- Three first cousins
- Forty-one instances of two brothers

Four instances of two sisters
Three cases of father and son
One case of a father and daughter
One case of a mother and son
Four cases of an aunt and a niece

More cases of such kinship would probably have been brought to light, had the investigator been more specific in requesting (a) full *names* of all subjects, and (b) *full names* of all parents and grandparents, and of all close relatives.

In all of the cases identified, save two, the family history show a history of from three to eight literate generations, and a similar exposure of the family for as many generations to excellent elementary and secondary education. One family is known to have produced five doctorates, six to have produced three, 47 to have produced two, and 313 to have produced one, an average of 1.17 doctorate to doctorate producing families. Supplementary inquiries failed to elicit a satisfactory response; but we estimate that if physicians, dentists, and lawyers were added to the academic doctorates produced by these families, that we would see an average of approximately 2.25 per family as the number of these professionals produced by the families concerned. This would mean that approximately 5,200 extant Negro families (out of the 4,250,000 extant in 1966) had produced all of the academic doctorates (est. at 1,800), the physicians (estimated at 4,500), the dentists (estimate at 1,500), and the lawyers (estimated at 4,000) living and practicing in the United States today.

The Secondary School Background

An analysis of the secondary school background of 566 graduates of totally segregated Negro high schools, who earned doctorates from 1957-1962, reveals the fact that there was a wide variation in the rates at which different high schools did produce doctorates, ranging from one doctorate for every seven graduates, to one for every 200 or 300 graduates. Among the high schools definitely known to be "segregated", whether in North or South, the high schools that either had been "private" — the schools established and maintained by religious denominations — or operated on private or state college campuses as "laboratory" high schools — had a far higher doctoral production rate than the large urban high schools, and especially higher than the large urban "de facto" segregated high schools in Northern slums. It is not clear whether this phenomenon is due to the quality of the school, or to the differential class structure of the

school population. It may be that the middle class, or professional classes among Negroes in large Northern cities, tend to live in areas outside or on the margins of the ghetto, and send their children to integrated high schools outside of it. Yet the evidence is, that there have been superior high schools in large segregated city schools systems; Dunbar, in Washington, D. C.; Sumner, in St. Louis, Mo.; where the doctoral productivity was much higher than in such high schools as Du Sable, in Chicago; Benjamin Franklin, in Philadelphia (where an examination system channeled some ghetto children into the city's selective high school, Central); and Attucks, in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Differences between states appear in the productivity of doctorates by secondary schools, when the number of doctorates produced between 1957 and 1962 by high schools is related to the 1952 high school graduating class. The state of Oklahoma is notable among the States with a segregated school system prior to de-segregation. This State is seen to enjoy a distinct superiority in such a comparison; our efforts to test relationships with such indexes as the amount of literacy in the general population, the percentage of home ownership among the people, the number of teachers in the population, yielded positive but not overwhelmingly convincing coefficients. We do know that, historically, Oklahoma's separate school system did pay higher salaries than in the older Southern states; and this presumably attracted teachers of superior educational attainments. We may also presume, that a species of "selective migration" was involved in the settlement of the new State, Oklahoma, by both Negroes and whites; that the more adventurous, the more ambitious, the more aspiring aggressive families from the near-by States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, and Mississippi; were attracted to Oklahoma. Toward the end of the 19th Century, and the beginning of the 20th, there were several organized efforts to organize migrations of Negroes to Oklahoma and to Kansas. These movements stressed the greater opportunities for Negroes in these States, for land ownership, for better employment, and for a better education for their children. The great migrations to the Northern cities had a different motivation, and perhaps attracted different kinds of people.

Collegiate Origins

We estimate that upwards of two-thirds of all Negro doctorates have been graduated from predominantly Negro colleges. Numerically, the leading colleges have been: Howard University, Morehouse College, Lincoln University (Pa.), Fisk University, Hampton Institute,

and Virginia State College. In terms of ratio of doctorates to the total number of male baccalaureate graduates, Talladega College (Alabama) leads with a rate of one to 13.3; Fisk University, Morehouse College, and Lincoln U. (Mo.), follow in that order. The median college produced one doctorate for every 71.0 male baccalaureates; the range was up to one for every 369 male graduates. Talladega, Howard, and Fisk led in the ratio of productivity of female graduates; Talladega with a ratio of one female doctorate to every 80 female baccalaureates. The median ratio of female doctoral productivity among the colleges was one doctorate to 455 baccalaureates; the female range was up to one doctorate to every 1,955 baccalaureates.

In a composite of various indices of productivity made in different studies (M. D.'s, male and female ratios of academic doctorates to male and female graduates, male scholars per 1,000 graduates, science doctorates), Talladega college is shown to lead in three categories, Fisk University first in two and second in one, and Virginia Union University in one. Howard University, Hampton Institute, Morehouse College, Virginia Union University, and Lincoln University (Pa.) are well toward the top in several categories.

What we see here is not a simple exhibit of the development of a few "excellent colleges"; they may be, and probably are, "excellent" beyond the ordinary of their class. These institutions are also examples of the development in a racial minority of colleges with a social and class "elite" enrollment, in which the students tend more and more to come from "white collar," professional families, than is the case in other predominantly Negro colleges, and, indeed, in the case of a number of "integrated" institutions.

The Graduate School Origins

From 1920-1962, Columbia University (including Teachers College), awarded 144 doctoral degrees to graduates of predominantly Negro colleges. New York University was second, with 128; Ohio State third, with 112; the University of Chicago, 84; the University of Michigan, 75. Fourteen Universities gave doctorates to graduates of these schools in the decade 1920-1929; 94 graduate schools had given the doctorate to graduates of these institutions by 1962. The recent desegregation of Southern graduate schools, and the expansion in other ways of these institutions, promises a moderate expansion of the number of Negro doctorates in the next decade. The Universities of Oklahoma, and of Texas, have to date (1966) been the most active of recently desegregated institutions, having awarded respec-

tively 17 and 15 doctoral degrees to graduates of predominantly Negro colleges.

Some General Characteristics of the Negro Doctorate

The Negro doctorate who has graduated from a predominantly Negro college and received his doctorate between 1920 and 1962 has had a much longer time-lapse between baccalaureate and doctorate, than the National sample (13.3 years compared to 9.8 years). This is true in all fields but Physics (7.3 to 7.4) and Religion and Theology. The time-lapse is the longest, as is true in the National sample, in Education; but that for persons from pre-dominantly Negro colleges is still excessive (17.9-14.9).

The Office of Scientific Personnel reports that the percentage of all doctorates that was female ranged from a high of 15.3% for the five year period, 1925-1929, to a low of 9.3% in the period from 1950-1954. Our Office of Scientific Personnel data involving 1,478 graduates of predominantly Negro colleges between 1920 and 1962 shows that 286, or 19.28%, were female. The data from the 517 questionnaires we received shows for integrated and predominantly Negro colleges a female percentage of 15.89%. We believe the higher percentage of females shown in our predominantly Negro college sample is due to the high concentration in the field of Education.

The Education of Parents

The parents of the subjects of this study are seen to have had educational and occupational backgrounds dissimilar to those of the parents of educational doctorates studied by Lawrence Brown, as reported in 1966. Twenty-four and seven-tenths per cent of the fathers of our questionnaire sample were college graduates as compared to 15.9% of Brown's sample. Ten and nine-tenths per cent of the Brown mothers held degrees of any sort; 16.7 of the mothers in our questionnaire sample had earned a degree of some sort. This difference comes doubtless from the fact that the Negro doctorate more frequently comes from a home where frequently both the father and mother are engaged in educational work. While Brown reported that 39.8% of the fathers in his study came from professional and managerial levels, less than 5% were associated with Education; in our questionnaire sample, 47.6% of the fathers were in the professional and managerial categories, with 17.1% being related to Education, and the Christian Ministry accounting for the largest number of "professionals."

This difference sets in relief what the effect of the distortions characteristic of the organization of the Negro community, and of its cultural and intellectual development, has been. Note that five times as many Negro doctorates come from the field of Education, as the Fathers in Brown's sample. If there had existed a broader base in a Negro professional and managerial class from which prospective doctorates might be expected to come, the one to one-and-a-half per cent of the total American output Negroes now contribute to the ranks of American doctorates, might be expected to be larger.

The "Intelligence" of the Negro Doctorate

The "intelligence" of the Negro doctorate — a quality that we place in quotation marks, advisedly — is here referred to as shown by "intelligence" test scores. We collected such scores from the files of several predominantly Negro colleges, from a list of such scores as derived from the administration of the American Psychological Examination to a number of Negro graduate students in 1938 by Mr. Fred McQuistion, then of the General Education Board; and through correspondence with various institutions, including the University of Chicago. Officials of the School of Education at the latter institution sent me the scores — without names — of sixteen Negroes who had earned the Ph.D. from Chicago in Education. The scores were made on a test originally devised by L. L. Thurstone and associates when Thurstone was in the University; the norms are those of students in the School of Education. The percentile scores ranged from a 9 percentile to a 98 percentile. Without knowledge of the persons to whom the scores could be attached, a personal recapitulation of the persons who are included reveals the fact that ten are the children of ministers, and at least two, the children of people in Education. The median percentile was 56.

In inspecting the test results as kept in the Registrar's offices of various colleges, over a period extending back as far as 1920, the investigator observed how dubious their validity must be. Differences in test administration, and competence in test administration and scoring, are obvious, from college to college. It is apparent that they were administered as part of what, for the most part, has become a collegiate ritual, with little effort made to make their use functional in the colleges that, nevertheless, have continued, year after year, to administer the tests to hapless Freshmen in every incoming class.

This *caveat* noted, when compared with the test scores made in high school by 3,567 doctorates, and reported by Lindsey Harmon in

AGCT equivalents, our sample of 123 scores show a median of 128.14 compared to Harmòn's 132.78. In interpreting the scores made by our doctorates, it will be remembered that most of our subjects for whom test scores are available are both Southern as well as Negroes; and such comparative regional test score comparisons as are available (The American Psychological Examination college freshman scores of the 1930's; the AGCT scores for two decades, *inter alia*) show that Southern colleges and university students of both races tend to score at decisively lower levels than Northern and Western students.

The investigator reports scores ranging from the two-percentile level, to the 98th percentile level. There is a clear positive relation between the parental, social and economic class, and the subjects test scores. The investigator believes that for persons who are members of regional and minority cultural groups, who have been or are isolated from the main stream of the American culture — and who are, to some degree, "foreign" to it — the standard test score has the same limitations for predicting academic success for such persons in academic competition with students from the "standard" culture, as test scores derived from truly "foreign" students have when such foreigners are competing with American-born students. We do have in evidence some extremely low test score percentiles, established by some students from extremely deprived cultural settings, that in no way were predictive of their true ability to compete academically, — and at a very high level of performance — while pursuing doctoral programs.

Geographical Origins

County "spot-mapping" of the birth-places of the doctorates, and of their parents and grand-parents, was carried out to test the initial hypothesis, that an "ecology of talent" existed.

The investigator would now be inclined to re-phrase this hypothesis; and substitute for the word "talent", the phrase, "academic excellence." This is because the word, "talent," suggests that the pattern of the concentration of the doctorates has been due to a geographical distribution of genetic endowment.

The rates established by counties, and by states; and by high schools; suggest that the "ecology" of academic ability must rest on factors more decisive than inherited patterns of the genes or of such other arrangements of the heritable mechanisms as may bear responsibility for human thought and action. The rate of appearance of Negro doctorates in New England to the Negro population of that

Region in 1920 was one to 4,490; for Massachusetts, it was one to 3,497. The rate for the entire United States was one to 20,926, for the lowest Region (the West South Central, including the States of Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas) it was 30,526, and for the lowest State, Louisiana, it was one to 38,903.

An analysis of the geographic distribution of the birthplaces of doctorates in the States of Alabama, North Carolina, and South Carolina, according to the socio-economic areas within these States as arranged by Ina Corrine Brown, yielded a Chi square of 9.33 with two degrees of freedom, significant at the 5% level of confidence.

*The Relation of Doctorate Productivity to the "Missionary"
Schools, and to Parental Education*

By inspection, there seems to be little relationship between the effectiveness of public education in various counties in the South where doctorates were born; and where, presumably, their parents received their elementary and secondary education.

Another possibility presents itself when a 1913 map showing the location by counties of "private" elementary and secondary schools is examined. For the most part, these schools were maintained by Northern church and missionary groups. Among such schools were these in Alabama: The Trinity School, at Athens, in Limestone county; the Calhoun School, in Lowndes county, the Lincoln Normal School at Marion, in Perry county; the Knox Academy, at Selma, in Dallas county; and a number of Lutheran and Presbyterian schools, in Wilcox county. In North Carolina were the fine Presbyterian schools, including Henderson Institute, in Vance county; the Albion Academy, in Franklin county; and the Mary Potter School, in Granville county.

It was a doctorate whose father and mother had graduated from Lincoln Normal School, at Marion, Perry county, Alabama, who called to my attention the possibility that the basic explanation for the production of doctorates whose roots were in remote Southern counties, might be the small, but amazingly effective, missionary schools located here and there throughout the South. This doctorate was William Childs Curtis; he was a descendant of the "African Princess," but he laid no claim to academic excellence in the family as a possible derivative from that legendary "royal" strain. He ascribed it, rather, to the "excellent American Missionary Association School at Marion" where his father and mother had been schooled.

This conviction is shared by this investigator. A factor of perhaps

equal importance, is the family; and the disciplines, the aspirations, and the social setting in which that family operates.

Were These the Truly Underprivileged?

Is a child underprivileged — who may have had one, or even two, illiterate parents? Must a child be defined as an “underprivileged” child, if his are near the bottom of an economic structure?

When the parental lack of education, and economic substance, condemn this child to life in a stultifying rural or urban setting, that child, to be sure, must be considered one with extremely limited privilege, and opportunity for attaining the highest academic excellence. Yet there are those who, in some manner, manage to surmount those defects.

Is this due to some super-human mental or physical endowment with which the child has been endowed? It may be; perhaps there are physiological organizations, glandular, hormonal, even neural, elements, of which we now know practically nothing, that may make the difference.

But one will notice in the autobiographies of these extraordinary “underprivileged” persons who have had an extraordinary academic success when their educational and social and economic background is considered, almost always a reference to an extraordinary mother; or father; or grandparents; to an extraordinary adult who provided early information or advice; a minister, or a teacher; or to a school above the ordinary, meaning extraordinary teachers. Each of these possible influencing factors, in its way, has a suggestion for formal education.

The Hypotheses Repeated, and the Conclusions

The Hypotheses

The principle hypothesis of the Study posited the over-riding importance of certain environmental factors, to wit — The Family.

- I. Parental education and occupation.

The Conclusions

It is concluded, that the Family is indeed of decisive importance in the production of persons of unusual academic ability from an underprivileged population.

What is important in the family is a complex; a complex including the nature and amount of formal education; and frequently responsible for the occupation pursued by the parent, and the acquisition of aspira-

The Hypotheses

The influence of the school, of individual teachers, and of persons in the school or community who influenced the aspirational level of the children.

The psychological and motivational climate of the community.

An "Ecology of Talent" exists, associated with;

- a) Such economic factors as the extent of farm and home ownership
- b) Such cultural factors as the acquisition of literacy in the general population.
- c) The distribution of stable families with accumulated stores of habits and aspirations and learnings acquired through association with the main stream of the standard American culture.

The Conclusions

tions, expectations, and motivations for children. Our Study reveals, we believe, that the early elementary and the secondary education of the child are crucial; and that the example given by the religiously motivated "missionary" schools of the lower South, where persons from a class from which the children were derived, established and sustained in the students far higher levels of self-expectancy than their accustomed *milieu* demanded of them.

The vast differences between different States, and Regions, in doctoral production — e.g., Massachusetts and New England, compared to Louisiana and the West South Central States; are undoubtedly due to many basic differences; the paucity of production from large ghetto high schools in the North, compared to the smaller private and public secondary schools of such States as Missouri and Oklahoma, suggest many basic differences between the character of the populations, the effectiveness of the schools; but also the psychological and motivational climate of the families, and communities, involved.

There is no "Ecology of Talent" in the sense that there are family or community "banks" of inheritable special abilities and dispositions. There is, however, a demonstrable ecological distribution of high academic attainment; it is most closely related to the tangibles of superior elementary and secondary schools, and to the intangibles of high expectancy of high aspiration, motivation, and attainment among teachers, and in families.

The Hypotheses

II. It was hypothesized, that "talent" may appear in certain family lines, due either to social or genetic inheritance.

III. It was hypothesized, that there are certain internal characteristics in a test performance profile for persons derived from generally low scoring populations, that might become the basis for developing a formula by which a better interpretation might be made of their significance as better predictive instruments for persons derived from "foreign" subcultures. The reason for establishing this hypothesis was that preliminary examination of test data did disclose a number

The Conclusions

The case for genetic inheritance must remain open until we know a great deal more about the mechanisms of inheritance among human beings. It is clear that the nature and structure of the family is closely related to the development of high level academic ability. It is likewise clear, that the presence or absence of superior schools; and the involvement of superior persons in contact with the child, either on the *family* or the community or school level, are vital ingredients in the process of producing superior students. It may be further concluded, that what may be called the "Intellectual climate"—including the regard in which the capacities of the child are held by the teacher, the family, and by the child are important aspects of scholarly productivity. For various reasons, it appears that Massachusetts proportionately produced more Negro doctorates than any other Northern States, because the Negro parents, the teachers, the counselors, and the children themselves were more thoroughly pervaded with the idea that they could attain to high scholarly levels.

The data proved too scanty to attempt the analysis projected. Studies by Clark and Plotkin¹ do show that Negro high school graduates from Southern high schools, when enrolled in Northern integrated colleges, make higher academic records than Negro graduates of Northern high schools who score significantly above their Southern brethren in standard tests of "aptitude". A study of this question projected on a wider basis is now being conducted by the Educational Testing Service. Otherwise, it was found

The Hypotheses

of very low scores, that were belied by the actual performance in graduate disciplines in pursuit of the doctorate.

- IV. It was hypothesized that there may be a special motivational structure involved, that would help explain the emergence of instances of outstanding academic attainment from isolated, under-privileged populations.

The Conclusions

that test scores followed the expected pattern, with the high scores invariably coming from persons with high-level parental educational backgrounds; and the low scores coming from persons from low-level backgrounds in education and social class.

Evidence abound in the history of education, to suggest that an enthusiasm for learning accompanied a revolutionary change in the status of various populations. Examples are: the response of African populations to education with the approach and realization of independence; the reaction of the Russian masses to the new educational opportunities created by the revolution; and of course, the religious-like fervor with which the recently emancipated Negro Freedmen pursued educational goals immediately after the Civil War.

In the case of the American Negro, the first-flush of the inspiration emancipation carried in its train suffered diminution as the realities of their new status became clear. Whether what has been called the "new emancipation" sought to be conferred by recent civil legislation, will be effective is yet to be seen.

¹Kenneth B. Clark and Lawrence Plotkin. *The Negro Student at Integrated Colleges*. New York: National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, 1963.

Recommendations

I.

It is clear that systems of segregated education deprive under-privileged populations of the great and powerful educational opportunities that come from the formal and informal associations with persons — students, and teachers — who are assumed to be the exemplars of more standard classes of the American social order. It is therefore recommended, that all necessary steps be taken in the

desegregation of school enrollments, and of teaching and administrative staffs, as possible.

II.

The strong motivating influence that can be provided by teachers and other community leaders is a recurring theme of the autobiographical accounts of a great many of the doctorates included in this Study. Our educational systems are committed to secular forms. At the same time, it must be obvious that the problems of the ghetto student call for a type of advisor and counsellor who has the capacity, first, to have faith in the potentialities of the student; and, a second, to infuse the student with confidence in himself.

What is needed, is to establish a means by which persons with a sense of commitment, and devotion, be placed in contact association with the students. Much of the attention now being given to developing special techniques for teaching the disadvantaged is to the point. So, also, is the conception of "VISTA," and of the Peace Corps. A special kind of dedication is called for. Perhaps a system can be devised, by which the secular posture of the public school system can be maintained, but where persons who are "lay" workers so far as professional education is concerned, but "specialists" in the arts of character building and the psychology of motivation, find a prominent place in the machinery of the schools.

III.

A number of special projects designed to expose promising youngsters to special short-term coaching experiences are now in process. These projects generally include short-term coaching experiences during summer terms, and in some cases extend the program on weekends during the regular session. These projects have been financed, principally, by private philanthropy. It is obvious that these projects are devices intended to remedy defects induced by earlier deficiencies in the social and educational experiences of the child. In short, they are now trying to supplement weaknesses in the equipment of the student that are at least partially rooted in prior deficiencies of the schools.

IV.

Beyond these specifics, it is clear that the possibility of improving the productivity of persons of unusual academic promise from under-

privileged populations is so involved in massive reasons for non-productivity, that no simple set of recommendations, and no conceivably simplistic pattern involving the formal educational system, can be very useful. The watchword must be that description of the early nineteenth century humanitarianism; what is needed is a spirit and program of "universal reformism."

Conversely, this author is convinced that an index of doctoral productivity to population may well be among the best indicators of the comparative absence or presence, of a total climate of intellectual and moral well-being in the lives of American citizens.

APPENDIX

TABLE A-I
COUNTY OF BIRTH OF DOCTORATES, AND OF THEIR PARENTS AND
GRAND-PARENTS, WITH AN INDEX OF DOCTORAL PRODUCTIVITY

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates, 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F	M	P	P	M	M
				a	o	a	a	a	a
				t	t	t	t	t	t
				h	h	e	e	e	e
				r	r	G	G	G	G
				s	s	F	M	F	M
MAINE	1	1,310	1,310	1					
Cumberland	1	416	416						
Sagadahoc				1					
MASSACHUSETTS	12	45,466	3,789	2	2	1		1	
Barnstable					1				
Berkshire	2	978	489						
Bristol	1	6,221	6,221	2				1	
Hampden	1	3,149	3,149						
Middlesex	2	9,953	4,976						
Suffolk	6	16,880	2,813		1	1			
RHODE ISLAND					2				2
Newport					1				
Providence					1				2
CONNECTICUT	2	21,046	10,523	2			2		
Hartford	1	5,985	5,985	1					
New Haven	1	7,080	7,080	1			2		

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F a t h r s	M o t h r s	P a t e G F	P a t e G M	M a t e G F	M a t e G M
NEW YORK	6	198,483	33,080		1		2		2
Chenango	1	139	139						
Columbia									1
Kings	2	31,912	15,956						
Monroe	1	1,886	1,886						
New York	2	109,133	54,566				1		
St. Lawrence							1		
Washington					1				
Yates									1
NEW JERSEY	8	117,132	14,641	1	3				
Bergen	2	4,136	2,068						
Camden	1	12,107	12,107						

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F a t h r s	M o t h r s	P a t e G F	P a t e G M	M a t e G F	M a t e G M
Essex	1	28,956	28,956						
Hudson	1	9,351	9,351						
Hunterdon	1	359	359						
Middlesex					2				
Monmouth	1	8,938	8,938						
Passaic				1					
Salem					1				
Union	1	8,087	8,087						
PENNSYLVANIA	20	244,568	12,228	2	6	2	1	2	2
Allegheny	6	53,517	8,919						
Bucks				1		1			
Delaware	3	15,717	5,239		2				
Franklin	1	1,467	1,467						
Montgomery	1	8,326	8,326						
Philadelphia	8	134,229	16,778	1	4	1	1	2	2
West Moreland	1	4,240	4,240						

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F a t h r s	M o t h r s	P a t e r n s	P a t e r n s	M a t e r n s	M a t e r n s
DELAWARE	1	30,335	30,335	2	2	1	1	1	1
Kent	1	6,753	6,753		2			1	1
New Castle				1					
Sussex				1		1	1		
MARYLAND	7	244,479	34,925	10	7	1	1	1	2
Baltimore	3	9,099	3,033	1					
Baltimore City	1	108,322	108,322						
Carroll					1				
Charles				1	1				
Dorchester				2					
Kent				1	1				
Somerset	1	8,889	8,889	1	1		1		
Wicomico	2	6,407	3,203	3	2	1			1
Worcester				1	1			1	1
District of COLUMBIA	18	109,966	6,109	7	4	1	1	5	3

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population		Rate	F a t h r s	M o t h r s	P a t h e G F	P a t h e G M	M a t h e G F	M a t h e G M
VIRGINIA	54	690,017	12,800		56	62	27	25	26	34
Accomack	1	13,213	-13,213		1		2			
Albemarle	3	7,569	2,523		5	4	2	2	3	4
Alexander						2				
Allegheny	1	2,528	2,528							
Amelia	1	5,470	5,470		1		1			
Amherst					1					
Appomattox	1	2,838	2,838		2	2		1	1	1
Augusta	1	4,188	4,188			2				
Bland						1				
Campbell	1	8,597	8,597			1	1	1		1
Carolina					1	1			1	1
Carroll					1					
Charles City					1	1	1	1	1	1
Charlotte										2
Chesterfield	1	7,084	7,084							
Culpepper					1	1		1		
Cumberland										5

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro		Rate	F	M	P	P	M	M
	No.	Population		a t h r s	a t h r s	a t t e G F	a t t e G M	a t t e G F	a t t e G M
Dinwiddie	7	10,817	1,545	6	4	3	1	1	
Fairfax	2	4,546	2,273	1	2				
Fauquier					1			1	1
Fredrick	1	499	499	1	1		1		1
Gloucester				1	1			1	1
Goochland	1	4,783	4,783	1		1			
Grayson	2	901	450		1				
Greensville	1	6,826	6,826	1					
Halifax				1		1	1		
Hampton (Eliza- beth City)	1	6,352	6,352						
Hanover					1			1	1
Henrico	6	5,877	969	5	8	2	1	1	
Henry	1	7,417	7,417	1	1	1	1		
James City	1	2,034	2,034	1	1		2	1	1
Lancaster	1	5,003	5,003						

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F a t h r s	M o t h r s	P a t e r n s	P a t e r n s	M a t e r n s	M a t e r n s
Loudon					1			1	1
Louisa				4	1				
Madison				1			1		
Mathews	1	2,363	2,363	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mecklenburg	1	16,586	16,586	2	2	2		4	2
Middlesex				1					
Nansemond							1		
Newport News	2	4,167	2,083						
Norfolk	8	43,392	5,424	4	4	3	2	2	3
Northampton	1	9,587	9,587			1	1		
Nottoway					1				.1
Orange				2	2	1	1	2	2
Pittsylvania	2	20,000	10,000	2	9	1	1	1	1
Prince Edward							2		
Rappahannock	1	2,154	2,154	1	1			1	1
Richmond				1		1	1		
Roanoke	1	12,208	12,208	1	1				

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro		Rate	F	M	P	P	M	M
	No.	Population		a t h r s	o t h r s	a t e G F	a t e G M	a t e G F	a t e G M
Rockbridge								1	1
Russell						1			
Scott				1					
Smyth	1	925	925						
Spottsylvania				1			1	1	
Sussex					2				1
Tazewell	2	2,894	1,447						
Warren									
Wise				1	1				
Wythe						1			
WEST VIRGINIA	2	86,345	43,172	3	5	1	1	1	2
Boone	1	759	759	1		1			
Fayette	1	9,636	9,636	1					
Kanawha							1		1
Mercer				1					
Ohio					1				

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F a t h r s	M o t h r s	P a t e r n s	P a t e r n s	M a t e r n s	M a t e r n s
				s	s	F	G	F	G
Raleigh					1				
Ritchie					1				
Webster					1				
Wyoming					1			1	1
NORTH CAROLINA	45	763,407	16,964	47	36	25	24	21	22
Alamance				1				1	
Avery						1			
Beaufort	2	12,093	6,046	2	2		1	1	1
Bertie	1	13,639	13,639	1	1				
Brunswick	2	5,373	2,686	2	2	1			
Buncombe	2	9,618	4,809	1	1	2	1		
Cabarrus				2		2			
Caldwell								1	1
Camden				1					
Chowan						1			1

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population		Rate	F a t h r s	M o t h r s	P a t e G F	P a t e G M	M a t e G F	M a t e G M
Cleveland									1	
Davie	2	2,039		1,019	2	2	1	2	1	1
Duplin	1	11,116		11,116	1	1				
Durham	2	13,168		6,584	3	2	1	1	1	1
Edgecombe						1		1		
Forsyth	1	26,121		26,121	1			1		
Franklin					1	1				
Gaston	1	9,226		9,226		1				1
Gates	1	5,082		5,082	1	1				
Grandville										1
Guilford	2	17,359		8,679	2	1				
Halifax										1
Hertford	3	9,954		3,318	3	1	3	3	2	1
Iredell	2	7,369		3,684	2	1	2	2		
Johnston	1	11,502		11,502	1					
Lenoir						1				
Lincoln									1	

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro		Rate	F	M	P	P	M	M
				a	o	a	a	a	a
	No.	Population		t	t	t	t	t	t
				h	h	e	e	e	e
				r	r	G	G	G	G
				s	s	F	M	F	M
Martin				1	1	1	1	1	1
Mecklenburg	3	26,657	8,885	2	3			1	2
Nash	3	17,413	5,804	2	2	1		1	1
New Hanover									
Northampton	1	13,825	13,825	1	1	1		1	1
Onslow	1	4,439	4,439	1					
Orange							3	1	
Pamlico	1	3,214	3,214						
Pasquotank	1	7,838	7,838		1				1
Polk					1			1	1
Pitt						1	1		
Richmond					1				
Robeson	2	20,307	10,153	2		1	1		
Rockingham	2	10,656	5,328		1			2	1
Rowan	3	9,233	3,077	1	1		1	1	2
Rutherford				1					

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F	M	P	P	M	M
				a	o	a	a	a	a
				t	t	t	t	t	t
				h	h	e	e	e	e
				r	r	G	G	G	G
				s	s	F	M	F	M
Scotland				1		1			
Stokes				1		1			
Swain								1	
Vance	3	10,171	3,390	1	1		1		1
Wake				2	3	1	1	1	1
Warren				3		2	2		
Washington				1					
Wayne							1		
Wilson	2	16,261	8,130		1			-1	
Yancey									1
SOUTH CAROLINA	33	864,719	26,506	44	38	28	26	26	30
Abbeville	1	15,436	15,436	1		1		1	
Anderson	2	26,312	13,156	1	1		1		
Barnwell	1	15,583	15,583						
Beaufort	2	17,454	8,727		1			2	
Calhoun	1	12,604	12,604						
Colleton									1

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro			F	M	P	P	M	M
	No.	Population	Rate	a t h r s	o t h r s	a t t e G F	a t t e G M	a t t e G F	a t t e G M
Charleston	2	64,236	32,118	1	3	2	3	1	3
Clarendon				1	1	1	1		
Chester	2	19,338	9,669	1	1	1	1		
Cherokee				1		1	1		
Chesterfield	1	12,633	12,633	1				1	1
Darlington	1	22,196	22,196	3		2			
Edgefield						1	1		
Fairfield	3	20,672	6,890	7	5	5	5	6	5
Greenville				3	2				
Georgetown	1	14,461	14,461	2	2	2	1	1	1
Kershaw	1	17,065	17,065	3	2	1	1	2	2
Horry									1
Laurens				1		1			
Lee	1	18,050	18,050	2	1	1	1	1	1
Greenwood				2	2	1	1	1	1
Marlboro					1				
Marion					1				
Oconee	1	6,398	6,398	1	1			1	1

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F	M	P	P	M	M
				a	a	a	a	a	a
				t	t	t	t	t	t
				h	h	e	e	e	e
				r	r	G	G	G	G
				s	s	F	M	F	M
Orangeburg	3	42,718	14,239	3	2	2	2	2	2
Richland	4	36,499	9,124	3	3		2	3	3
Saluda					1			1	1
Spartanburg	2	27,392	13,696	1					1
Sumter	1	30,508	30,508	2	2	2	2	1	2
Union	2	14,076	7,038	4	4	2	3	2	3
York	1	24,230	24,230		2				1
GEORGIA	35	1,206,365	34,467	34	33	12	12	17	16
Barrow	1	3,051	3,051						
Bibb	3	43,025	14,941	3		2	2		
Brooks					1				
Burke	1	24,775	24,775	1				1	1
Carroll	1	7,265	7,265					1	1
Chatham	2	49,236	24,619	1	3			1	2
Chattooga	1	2,299	2,299						2
Cherokee								1	
Clarke				1	1			2	1
Cobb				1					

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro		Rate	F	M	P	P	M	M
	No.	Population		a t h r s	a t h r s	a t e G F	a t e G M	a t e G F	a t e G M
Coweta					1				
Dougherty				2			1		
Elbert	1	10,726	10,726	1		1			
Fulton	10	70,200	7,020	2	5			2	
Glynn	3	9,850	3,283	1	1			1	1
Greene				1	1				
Hart				1	1				
Jasper	1	11,618	11,618						1
Jenkins				1					
Jones				1	1	1	1	1	1
Laurens	2	18,001	9,300		1				1
Liberty				1		1	1		
Lowndes				2	2			2	1
Madison								1	
Monroe				1	1		1		
Morgan	1	12,886	12,886	1	3	1	1		1
Muscogee	1	16,251	16,251		1				
Peach					2				
Pike							1		

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	NO.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F a t h r s	M o t h r s	P a t e r n e r s	P a t e r n e r s	M a t e r n e r s	M a t e r n e r s
Pulaski	1	7,164	7,164	1	1			1	1
Randolph				1					
Richmond	1	28,639	28,639	2	1			1	
Spalding	1	10,206	10,206	1	2	1		1	
Stewart				1		1			
Sumter							1		
Talbot				1	1	2	1		1
Tattnall	1	3,550	3,550						
Telfair	1	5,005	5,005	2	1		1		
Terrell	1	14,055	14,055		1		1		
Walton	1	9,715	9,715	2		1			
Wheeler								1	1
Whitfield					1				
Wilcox				1		1			
FLORIDA	19	329,487	17,341	6	7	3	5	3	1
Broward	1	1,572	1,572			1	1		
Citrus	1	2,525	2,525						
Columbia							1		
Dade	1	12,680	12,680			1			

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F	M	P	P	M	M
				a	a	a	a	a	a
				t	t	t	t	t	t
				h	h	e	e	e	e
				r	r	G	G	G	G
				s	s	F	M	F	M
Dixie					1				
Duval	2	47,989	23,994	1	1				
Escambia	2	15,221	7,610	1					
Gadsden	1	14,312	14,312	1	1	1	1		
Jackson	1	13,320	13,320	1	2		1	1	1
Levy					1			1	
Madison	1	8,492	8,492	1					
Marion	3	12,087	4,029	1			1		
Monroe	1	4,315	4,315		1				
Orange	1	5,464	5,464						
Pinellas	1	4,553	4,553						
Putnam	1	6,742	6,742						
Union	1	2,846	2,846						
Volusia								1	
Washington	1	2,957	2,957						
KENTUCKY	14	235,938	16,852	17	14	8	10	9	5
Anderson				2					
Bell							2		
Bourbon								1	

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro			F	M	P	P	M	M
	No.	Population	Rate	a t h r s	o t h r s	a t e G F	a t e G M	a t e G F	a t e G M
Boyle	1	3,190	3,190	1	1	1	1		
Calloway						1	1		
Campbell	1	934	934						
Clark				1					
Clay				1		1	1		
Cumberland	1	915	915	1	1		1		
Estill	1	204	204	1					
—Fayette				2	2	1	1	1	
Henry	1	1,488	1,488	1	1				1
Jackson					1			1	1
Jefferson	5	44,448	8,889	2	2	1		2	2
Jessamine				1					
McCracken	2	7,006	3,503					1	
Madison	1	4,910	4,910	2	2	2	2	1	
Mason					1				
Montgomery						1	1	1	
Scott					1				
Simpson				1					

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F	M	P	P	M	M
				a t h r s	o t h r s	a t t e G F	a t t e G M	a t t e G F	a t t e G M
Union Warren	1	2,193	2,193	1	1			1	1
TENNESSEE	20	451,758	22,587	12	15	6	5	4	7
Blount				1		1			
Bradley				1					
Campbell	1	1,272	1,272		1				
Carroll					1				1
Crockett					1				
Davidson	6	44,528	7,421	2	1		3		
Grainger				1					
Hamilton	2	27,120	13,560	3	2	1	1		
Haywood	1	16,959	16,959	1				1	1
Knox	2	13,310	6,650	1	2		1		
Maury				1	3			2	2
Madison						1			
McMinn	1	1,923	1,923					1	1
Morgan				1					
Montgomery					1				

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro		Rate	F a t h r s	M o t h r s	P a t e G F	P a t e G M	M a t e G F	M a t e G M
		No.	Population							
Roane	1	1,918	1,918							
Shelby	3	98,962	32,987			3				1
Sullivan	1	1,691	1,691							
Sumner							2			
Tipton	1	13,139	13,139							
Washington	1	2,250	2,250							
Weakley										1
Williamson							1			
ALABAMA	33	900,652	27,292		32	24	17	13	18	21
Baldwin	1	4,781	4,781		1					
Barbour					3		1	1		
Bibb	1	7,817	7,817		1			1		1
Butler									1	
Bullock					1	1	1			
Calhoun	1	12,089	12,089							
Chambers									1	1
Choctaw						1				
Dallas	4	42,265	10,566		3	1	1	1		
Elmore							1			

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F a t h r s	M o t h r s	P a t e G F	P a t e G M	M a t e G F	M a t e G M
Escambia	1	6,293	6,293						
Etowah						1			
Greene					1			1	1
Hale	1	17,896	17,896	1	1	1		1	2
Henry					1				
Houston	1	10,421	10,421						
Jefferson	7	130,291	18,613	2	2	2	2	2	3
Lauderdale							1		
Lee	2	18,784	9,392	1	1			1	1
Lowndes	3	22,016	7,338	1	1		1		2
Macon	2	19,614	9,807	1		1			
Madison				1	1				
Marengo				3	1		1		
Marion					1				
Mobile	2	39,667	19,833		2	1			1
Montgomery	2	48,463	24,231	2		1	1	1	
Perry	1	18,258	18,258	3	4	3	2	5	5
Pickens				1					
Randolph				1		1	1		

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F a t h r s	M o t h r s	P a t e r n a l	P a t e r n a l	M a t e r n a l	M a t e r n a l
St. Clair				1	1				
Sumter					1				1
Shelby	1	7,044	7,044	1					
Talladega						1			
Tuscaloosa					1			1	
Washington	1	5,856	5,856	1				1	1
Wilcox	2	25,009	12,504	3	2	1	1	2	2
MISSISSIPPI	30	935,184	31,172	25	28	10	13	10	12
Alcorn					1			1	
Amite	2,	9,343	4,671	1	1				
Attala				1					
Carroll	1	11,353	11,353	2	1				
Chickasaw	1	11,057	11,057	2	1	1			
Claiborne	1	9,591	9,591		1			1	
Coahoma	1	35,204	35,204	1					
Forrest	1	7,249	7,249	1	1				
Harrison				2	1	1	2		1
Hinds	3	35,728	11,908	4	2	1			
Humphreys							1		

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro			F a t h r s	M o t h r s	P a t h e G F	P a t h e G M	M a t h e G F	M a t h e G M
	No.	Population	Rate						
Jefferson Davis	1	6,751	6,751	1	1			1	1
Jones					1				
Kemper	2	11,080	5,540	2	1	1	1	1	1
Lamar	1	3,286	3,286				1		
Lafayette					1		1		
Lauderdale	1	18,749	18,749	1	1	1	1		1
Leake	1	5,770	5,770	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lowndes	1	17,944	17,944		1		1	1	1
Madison	1	22,838	22,838						
Monroe	1	15,352	15,352						
Perry				1					
Pike	2	13,443	6,721	3	3	2	3	3	3
Sharkey	2	11,784	5,892		2			1	2
Sunflower	3	34,397	11,493						
Tallahatchie	1	25,317	25,317						
Walthall	1	5,666	5,666						
Washington	1	41,640	41,640	1	1	1			
Warren					2				1
Wilkinson	1	11,314	11,314	2	2		1		

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F	M	P	P	M	M
				a	o	a	a	a	a
				t	t	t	t	t	t
				h	h	e	e	e	e
				r	r	G	G	G	G
				s	s	F	M	F	M
Yazoo					1	1			
ARKANSAS	13	472,220	36,324	7	11	2		5	2
Conway					1				
Dallas				1		1			
Desha								1	
Drew				1					
Franklin								1	
Garland	1	3,426	3,426		2			1	
Grant								1	
Hempstead					1				
Lonoke				1					
Jefferson	2	39,493	19,746	1	3				1
Little River	1	6,006	6,006						
Monroe					1			1	
Ouachita				1					
Polk	1	9	9		1				
Pope	1	1,751	1,751	1					
Pulaski	4	36,439	9,109		1				

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F a t h r s	M o t h r s	P a t e G F	P a t e G M	M a t e G F	M a t e G M
St. Francis	1	19,971	19,971		1				
Union						1			
Wilkinson									1
Woodruff	2	11,434	5,717					1	
Yell				1					
LOUISIANA	18	700,257	38,903	13	16	5	5	10	10
Acadia	1	7,526	7,526						
Ascension									1
Avoyelles						1	1	1	1
East Baton Rouge	2	23,098	11,549		2			1	1
East Feliciana	2	12,004	-6,000	1	2			1	1
Iberia				1					
Lafourche				1		1	1	1	
Orleans	6	100,930	16,821	1	5	1	1	2	1
Pointe Coupee	1	14,981	14,981	1	1				
Rapides	1	24,992	24,992	1	2	1	1	2	2
St. James	1	11,602	11,602	1	1				
St. John (Baptist)							1		
St. Mary	1	15,174	15,174	2	1				2

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F	M	P	P	M	M
				a	o	a	a	a	a
				t	t	t	t	t	t
				h	h	e	e	e	e
				r	r	G	G	G	G
				s	s	F	M	F	M
Terrebonne	1	8,742	8,742	1				1	
Vernon					1				
Washington	1	7,391	7,391	1					
Webster	1	11,387	11,387	1	1			1	1
West Feliciana				1		1			
OKLAHOMA	12	149,408	12,450	3	2			1	
Bryan	1	1,829	1,829						
Cherokee						1		1	
Garfield	1	591	591						
Lincoln	1	3,955	3,955						
Logan	1	6,422	6,422						
McIntosh	1	5,950	5,950	1	1				
Muskogee	2	15,310	7,655	1					
Oklahoma	2	11,401	5,700						
Okmulgee	2	9,791	4,895						
Seminole	1	4,517	4,517	1					
TEXAS	24	741,694	30,821	14	18	2	4	7	8
Bexar	2	15,580	7,790		1				

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F	M	P	P	M	M
				a	o	a	a	a	a
				t	t	t	t	t	t
				h	h	e	e	e	e
				r	r	G	G	G	G
				s	s	F	M	F	M
Bosque				1					
Caldwell	1	4,403	4,403						
Camp									1
Cass					1				
Cherokee	1	9,174	9,174	2	1			1	
Coke				1			1		
Cooke	1	1,398	1,398						
Dallas	1	31,397	31,397		1				
De Witt	1	5,206	5,206						
El Paso	1	1,548	1,548						
Fannin					2				
Fort Bend									1
Franklin	1	573	573					1	
Goliad	1	1,184	1,184	1	1				
Grayson				1		1	1		
Grimes					1				
Harris	2	42,734	21,367	1	2			1	2
Harrison	1	26,858	26,858						
Houston	1	10,793	10,793						

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro		Rate	F	M	P	P	M	M
	No.	Population		a t h r s	o t h r s	a t e G F	a t e G M	a t e G F	a t e G M
Hunt					2				
Jefferson	2	19,586	9,793						
Lamar				1					
Lampasas	1	274	274						
Marion	2	6,667	3,333						
Navarro	1	12,100	12,100	1	2	1	1	1	1
Panola				1					
Robertson	1	12,474	12,474		1			1	1
Rusk	1	12,713	12,713						
St. Augustine				1					
Smith					1			1	1
Taylor	1	481	481						
Tyler	1	2,195	2,195						
Walker				1	1				
Waller					1			1	1
Washington							1		
Wood				1					

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F a t h r s	M o t h r s	P a t e r n a l	P a t e r n a l	M a t e r n a l	M a t e r n a l
OHIO	10	186,187	18,618	5	7	3	2	4	3
Belmont									1
Champaign				1		1	1		
Clark	1	7,586	7,586	1	1	1	1	1	1
Clermont	1	793	793						1
Cuyahoga	1	35,347	35,347						
Fayette				1					
Franklin	2	23,917	11,958						
Geauga				1	1				
Greene	1	3,751	3,751						
Guernsey	1	456	456						
Hamilton	2	33,747	16,873		1				
Highland					1			1	
Jackson					1				
Lawrence				1					
Logan					1			1	
Lorain					1				
Muskingum	1	1,787	1,787						

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F	M	P	P	M	M
				a	a	a	a	a	a
				t	t	t	t	t	t
				h	h	h	h	h	h
				r	r	r	r	r	r
				s	s	F	M	F	M
Scioto						1			
INDIANA	8	80,810	10,101	4	4			1	2
Allen					1				
Clark									1
Floyd				1				1	
Grant				1					
Marion	3	35,634	11,878			1			
Steuben	1	10	10						
Tipton	1	397	397	1	1				
Vanderburgh	1	6,568	6,568	1					
Vigo	2	4,478	2,239		1			1	
ILLINOIS	15	182,274	12,151	2	6				2
Alexander				1					
Bond	1	104	104						
Champaign	1	1,620	1,620						1
Cook	6	115,238	19,206		4				
Edgar					1				
Jackson	1	2,733	2,733		1				

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population		Rate	F a t h r s	M o t h r s	P a t t e r n s	P a t t e r n s	M a t t e r n s	M a t t e r n s
	No.								
LaSalle	2	332	166						
McDonough	1	126	126						
Madison	1	3,981	3,981						1
Pulaski				1					
Warren	1	500	500						
Williamson	1	1,825	1,825						
MICHIGAN	1	60,082	60,082	1	1				3
Berrien									1
Ionia	1	112	112	1					
Isabella					1				
Mecosta									
Monroe									1
Wayne									1
WISCONSIN	1	5,201	5,201		1				1
Milwaukee	1	2,346	2,346						
Rock									1

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F	M	P	P	M	M
				a	o	a	a	a	a
				t	t	t	t	t	t
				h	h	e	e	e	e
				r	r	G	G	G	G
				s	s	F	M	F	M
Waukesha					1				
MISSOURI	17	178,241	10,484	14	8	2	2		1
Buchanan	2	4,325	2,163	1	1				
Butler	1	1,449	1,449						
Cape Girardeau				1					
Chariton	1	1,809	1,809						
Clay				1					1
Cooper	1	2,404	2,404						
Daviess				1					
Greene	1	2,261	2,261	1	1				
Howard				1					
Jackson	4	3,869	967	3	1				
Jefferson						1			
Johnson				1					
Lincoln	1	1,105	1,105	1	1				
Marion	1	2,410	2,410		1				
Monroe						1	1		

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	No.	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro Population	Rate	F a t h r s	M o t h r s	P a t e r n a l G F	P a t e r n a l G M	M a t e r n a l G F	M a t e r n a l G M
Moniteau	1	476	476		1				
St. Francois				1					
St. Louis	1	2,729	2,729	1		1	1		
St. Louis City	3	69,854	23,284						
Scott				1					
Wright					1				
KANSAS	5	57,925	11,585	2	4			1	3
Douglas									1
Franklin	1	501	501						
Kingman					1			1	
Leavenworth					1				1
Linn				1					
Marion	1	92	92						
Neosho	1	532	532						
Rice									1
Shawnee	1	5,176	5,176	1	1				
Wyandotte	1	16,758	16,758		1				

TABLE I (cont'd)

STATE AND COUNTY	Native County of Doctorates 1920 Negro			F	M	P	P	M	M
	No.	Population	Rate	a t h r s	o t h r s	a t e G F	a t e G M	a t e G F	a t e G M
COLORADO	2	11,318	5,659		1				
El Paso	1	1,088	1,088						
Larimer	1	20	20		1				
Denver									
UTAH	1	1,446	1,446						
Salt Lake City	1	810	810						
CALIFORNIA	2	33,763	19,381						
Alameda	1	6,320	6,320		1				
Lake	1	6	6		1				
**WEST INDIES	10				4	11	9	8	7
*IOWA		19,005		3		1			1
Buchanan				1					
Chickasaw				1					
Polk					1				
Poweshiek				1					
Scott									1
TOTAL ***	499			371	375	168	164	182	200

**Include all Caribbean countries

***Discrepancy in numbers due to lack of knowledge; or omitted answer in questionnaire, or biographical sketch from which data were derived.

TABLE A II. Ratio for 1957-1962 Doctorates to 1952 Graduates of Pre-dominantly Negro High Schools.

<u>Name and Location of School</u>	<u>Number of doctorates</u>	<u>Number of 1952 Graduates</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
OHIO			
Dunbar, Dayton			
INDIANA			
Lincoln, Evansville	2	55	27.5
Crispus Attucks, Indianapolis	3	297	99.0
ILLINOIS			
Dusable, Chicago	2	448	224.0
Phillips, Chicago	6	410	68.3
Lincoln, E. St. Louis	4	179	44.7
MISSOURI			
Lincoln, Kansas City	8	184	23.0
Sumner, St. Louis	7	312	44.5
Vashon, St. Louis	3	350	116.6
KANSAS			
Sumner, Kansas City	5	144	28.4
DELAWARE			
Howard High School	2	91	45.5
MARYLAND			
Bates, Annapolis	2	95	47.5
Douglas, Baltimore	9	561	62.3
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA			
Armstrong	2	188	94.0
Dunbar	16	503	31.4
VIRGINIA			
Douglass, Bristol	2	15	7.5
Va. Randolph T. S.	2	50	25.0
Louisa Co. T. S., Louisa	2	47	23.5
Dunbar High School, Lynchburg	3	36	12.0
Booker T. Washington H. S., Norfolk	4	290	72.5
Hungtington H. S., Newport News	3	177	59.0
Norman H. S., Portsmouth	2	66	33.0
Armstrong H. S., Richmond	3	147	73.5
Lucy Addison, Roanoke	2	122	61.0
Bruton Hts., Williamsburg	2	—	—

TABLE II (cont'd)

NORTH CAROLINA

Hillside H. S., Durham	5	148	29.6
Jas. B. Dudley H. S., Greensboro	3	127	42.3
**Henderson Institute, Henderson	2	45	22.5
**Mary Potter H. S., Oxford	5	76	15.2
Washington H. S., Raleigh	3	105	35.0
Washington H. S., Reidsville	2	53	26.5
**Palmer Memorial H. S., Sedalia	2	62	31.0
Chas. H. Darden H. S., Wilson	2	78	39.0
Atkins H. S., Winston Salem	3	156	52.0

SOUTH CAROLINA

West Side H. S., Anderson	2	74	37.0
**Mather Academy, Camden	2	49	24.5
**Avery Institute, Charleston	2	60	30.0
Burke H. S., Charleston	2	307	153.5
Booker T. Washington H. S., Columbia	6	92	15.4
Butler H. S., Hartsville	2	44	22.0
Pickens H. S., Pickens	2	—	—

GEORGIA

Booker T. Washington H. S., Atlanta	8	351	43.8
**Lucy Laney H. Institute, Augusta	3	—	—
**Paine Coll. H. S., Augusta	3	—	—
Wm. Spencer H. S., Columbia	2	89	44.5
Wayne County Tr. School, Jesup	2	14	7.0
**Ballard-Hudson H. S., Macon	2	545	222.5
Beach H. S., Savannah	3	207	72.3
Center H. S., Waycross	2	—	—

FLORIDA

Attucks H. S., Dania	2	—	—
Stanton H. S., Jens	3	301	100.6
Douglass H. S., Key West	2	21	10.5
Booker T. Washington H. S., Miami	2	178	89.0
Middleton H. S., Tampa	2	123	61.5

TABLE II (cont'd)

KENTUCKY

State Street H. S., Bowling Green	3	32	10.6
Rosenwald H. S., Harlan	3	—	—
Dunbar H. S., Lexington	3	77	25.6
Central H. S., Louisville	3	274	91.3

TENNESSEE

Howard H. S., Chattanooga	3	141	37.0
Langston H. S., Johnson City	2	18	9.0
Austin H. S., Knoxville	2	134	67.0
Booker T. Washington H. S., Memphis	4	336	84.0
**Morristown Col., Morris	2	—	—
Pearl H. S., Nashville	5	245	49.0

ALABAMA

**Trinity H. S., Athens	3	34	11.3
Parker H. S., Birmingham	6	725	120.8
**Camden Academy, Camden	2	40	20.0
**State Col. Lab. H. S., Montgomery	4	—	—
**Talladega Col. H. S., Talladega	2	—	—
**Tusk. Institute H. S., Tuskegee	7	95	13.5

MISSISSIPPI

Lanier H. S., Jackson	2	145	72.0
Harris H. S., Meridian	2	90	45.0
Ontibbla Co. T. S., Starr	2	42	21.0
**Tougaloo Col. H. S., Tougaloo	3	—	—
**Holmes Sem., West Point	2	48	24.0

ARKANSAS

Washing H. S., E. Dorado	2	38	19.0
Dunbar H. S., Little Rock	3	132	49.0
J. C. Corbin H. S., Pine Bluff	3	28	9.3

TABLE II (cont'd)

LOUISIANA

**Leland H. S., Baker	4	—	—
**So. U. Lab. School, Baton Rouge	3	—	—
**Gilbert Academy, New Orleans	3	40	13.3
McDonough H. S., New Orleans	9	190	21.1
**Xavier Prep. School, New Orleans	5	81	16.2

OKLAHOMA

Man. Trng. School, Muskogee	3	77	25.6
Douglass H. S., Oklahoma City	4	155	38.7
Dunbar H. S., Okmulgee	3	23	7.6

TEXAS

Anderson H. S., Austin	7	129	18.6
Lincoln H. S., Dallas	2	109	54.5
Booker T. Washington H. S., Dallas	2	139	69.0
Blackshear H. S., Hearne	2	40	20.0
Booker T. Washington H. S., Houston	2	135	67.5
Wheatley Sr. H. S., Houston	5	246	48.2
Jack Yates H. S., Houston	3	187	62.3
P. Wheatley H. S., San Antonio	2	147	73.5
Emm. J. Scott H. S., Tyler	3	77	25.6

**Private beginnings, and college campus schools. This Table is constructed from the high school roster maintained by the Office of Scientific Personnel. The listings may not be entirely accurate, principally because it was extremely difficult for the tabulators to separate returns where almost identically named schools — white and Negro — existed in the same community.

THE PATERNAL ANCESTRY OF JEANNE AND WILLIAM NELSON COLSON
CHILDREN OF CORTLANDT AND ELSIE DURHAM COLSON
AUGUST 14, 1938

M. = married
B. = born
D. = died

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PATERNAL ANCESTRY OF JEANNE AND WM. NELSON COLSON FACTS CONCERNING SUCCESSIVE GENERATIONS

1. **JAMES COLSON:** On August 18, 1800 James Colson of the first generation in this genealogy was described as a dark brown, near black, Negro man, 5 ft. 7½ inches high, about 32 years old, with bush thick hair.

It appears that he came to Petersburg several years before this time. He had been the slave of William Nelson of York county and was emancipated at Williamsburg about 1791. The Nelsons were among the leading, aristocratic families of Virginia in the Revolutionary days. James Colson was married more than once as the table shows. It appears that his three children were born of a free wife although not the same wife. Under the loose marital code of that day among Negroes this phase of his life is difficult to determine.

James Colson quickly took rank among the leading free Negroes of Petersburg. His name appears again and again in the early records of Petersburg as a participant in worthy enterprises. First of all he was a barber which trade his son also followed. He became the owner of two pieces of property, in 1803 and 1811, and engaged in other transactions of a real estate and personal property nature. He was affiliated with the Benevolent Society of Free Men of Color, an organization which embraced many persons who could read, write, and speak with intelligence. He was one of this number.

James Colson died with a debt on him. His property was tied up in the hands of white trustees under a deed of trust. Shortly after his death his son William Nelson came forward to redeem the debt and thus save the property in the family's hands. However, this was accomplished only by Susan Colson, his half-sister, renouncing all her right to her father's estate.

2. **WILLIAM NELSON COLSON:** As a barber, business man, and serious student of world affairs this man attained preeminence. His chief claim to fame rests in his business venture whereby with Joseph Jenkins Roberts and one or two other Petersburg free Negroes was organized the mercantile company of Roberts, Colson, and Company about 1832. This enterprise was located in Liberia while the merchandise they sold was bought in the U.S. by William Colson and his wife before he sailed for that country in 1836. In the years 1834 and 1835 he traveled widely in the U.S. in the interest of his company in Africa.

Colson's barber shop was located on Sycamore Street about where the Western Union is located today. This was a shop of several chairs and considerable equipment. He also had half interest in a shop on Bollingbrook Street with his brother-in-law, Henry Elebeck. With the patronage of the leading white citizens of Petersburg and a high degree of business ability this man accumulated considerable money which he invested in the mercantile company. James Colson and William Nelson Colson, father and son, had a barber shop connection with Petersburg extending over a period of thirty-five years.

William Nelson Colson was married to Sarah Elebeck in 1826 to whom five children were born. The chief of these for the purposes of this genealogy was James Major. Mrs. Sarah Colson was left a widow nine years after their marriage due to the untimely death of her husband in Liberia only a few weeks after he landed. She was appointed administratrix of his estate in Petersburg by the Court and became the beneficiary of

his interests in the firm of Roberts, Colson and Company. Three years after Colson's death the widow married Booker Jackson, a well-to-do free Negro of Farmville

On July 8, 1835 Colson's passport to Africa gives him the following description: stature, 5 ft. 11½ inches; forehead, ordinary; eyes, gray; nose, medium; mouth, small; chin, round; hair, black; complexion, dark; face, long. Since other descriptions of this man do not give him a dark complexion he should be rated as brown skin.

3. **JAMES MAJOR COLSON:** This Colson, the son of William Nelson, probably derived his name from his two grandfathers — James Colson on his father's side, and Major Elebeck on his mother's side. Since his mother Sarah Colson married Booker Jackson of Farmville it is likely that James Major Colson spent his early years in this town.

Fannie Meade Bolling whom James Major Colson married in 1852 was an exceptional woman. She was born a slave. In 1844 at the age of ten she became free through the act of her father Thomas Bolling who likewise had gone through this same process. She learned to read and write while still in slavery and in later life displayed talent as a writer of poems. After the war she opened one of the first private schools in Petersburg. This woman lived until 1917.

James Major Colson was a shoemaker, not a shoe repairer. He owned no property by the time of the Civil War; by 1870 he had advanced to this position. For thirty-seven years he was a member of the Union Street C. M. E. Church and served as steward, class leader, and trustee. He was also a member and founder of the Pocahontas lodge of Masons. At the time of his death in 1892 he was referred to as "a man that few people disliked."

4. **JAMES MAJOR COLSON, JR.** James Major Colson, Jr., second child of James Major and Fannie Meade Colson, distinguished himself as a college bred man, the recipient of the Phi Beta Kappa from Dartmouth, and a teacher and school administrator over a period of twenty-five years. From 1885 until 1904 he was a teacher of science at the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute (Virginia State College), and from 1904 until his death in 1909, he was principal of the Dinwiddie Normal and Industrial School at Dinwiddie. Colson graduated from Dartmouth in 1883. On the occasion of his graduation one of his professors said of him, "Mr. Colson comes out among the best scholars of his class, and there are few, if any, who have in them the promise of so much usefulness and efficiency in the active life of the outside world." His first training was obtained in Petersburg at the school of Giles B. Cooke.

James Major Colson married Kate Hill in 1886. She too had outstanding forbears in Petersburg. Her father, John Henry Hill, distinguished himself as a fugitive from slavery and a resident of Canada by way of the Underground Railroad. During his entire life he feared no white man. Kate Hill's grandfather on her mother's side was Jack McCrea, the operator of a successful oyster house, or restaurant, in Petersburg for a number of years. He was a free Negro and the purchaser and liberator of his wife and children. Mrs. Kate Hill Colson as Miss Hill became one of the first colored teachers in the public school system of Petersburg. She entered the system in 1882 at the Peabody School and taught until her marriage in 1886. Mrs. Colson died in 1929.

5. **CORTLANDT M. COLSON.** Cortlandt Colson, the father of Jeanne and William Nelson Colson, is the youngest child of James Major and Kate Hill Colson. He attended Dartmouth, graduated at Virginia State College, and is now (1938) principal of the D. Webster Davis High School, laboratory high school of the Virginia State College.

FAMILY DIAGRAM NUMBER 1

THE AFRICAN PRINCESS

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THE AFRICAN PRINCESS – THE FIRST-GENERATION IN AMERICA – GIVEN AWAY AS A WEDDING GIFT IN 1749. SAID TO HAVE BEEN “HIGH-JACKED” FROM A FRENCH SHIP, BY AN AMERICAN PRIVATEER, WHILE BOUND FOR FRANCE FOR A CONVENT EDUCATION FROM A ROYAL FAMILY IN MADAGASCAR, SHE WAS BROUGHT TO PHILADELPHIA AND SOLD INTO SLAVERY. CARRIED TO NORFOLK, VIRGINIA, SHE BECAME THE PROPERTY OF FRANCES FREEMAN WHO FIRST MARRIED CAPTAIN JOHN MCKERRELL, AND LATER MARRIED CAPTAIN FRANCIS CHILDS. MARY FREEMAN MARRIED DR. THOMAS BURKE, LATER FIRST GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA AFTER INDEPENDENCE. APPARENTLY DR. BURKE AND THE CHILDS’ FAMILY MOVED TO ORANGE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, AND TOOK THE “PRINCESS” WITH THEM.

THE

FIRST

GENERATION

THE

SECOND

AND THIRD

GENERATIONS

THE “PRINCESS” HAD A CHILD, WHOSE NAME WAS MARIA; SHE IS MENTIONED IN THE WILL OF GOVERNOR BURKE, WHO DIED IN 1783; AND IN THE WILL OF CAPTAIN FRANCIS CHILDS, WHO DIED IN 1792, REFERRING TO “MARIA AND CHILD.” A PATSEY FREEMAN, A FREEWOMAN OF COLOR, LISTED AS OF AGE 45, OCCURS IN THE LIST OF “FREE COLORED” IN ORANGE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, IN 1850; HER HUSBAND, WILLIAM FREEMAN, ALSO FREE, AGED 65, IS LISTED AS HEAD OF A HOUSEHOLD THAT INCLUDED ONE NANCY FREEMAN, LISTED AS 20 YEARS OLD.

THE

FOURTH

GENERATION

THE FAMILY’S ORAL TRADITION, AND A DIARY KEPT BY PATSEY’S GRAND-DAUGHTER, PATTY CHILDS, STATES THAT PATSEY HAD EIGHT CHILDREN, INCLUDING TWO BOYS AND SIX GIRLS. THE GIRLS WERE EXPERT SEAMSTRESSES, AND MANUFACTURED UNIFORMS FOR A BOY’S MILITARY SCHOOL AT HILLSBORO. THEY WERE ALLOWED TO WORK OVER-TIME FOR WHICH THEY WERE PAID, EARNING ENOUGH MONEY TO BUY THE FREEDOM OF THEIR MOTHER, AND THEIR BABY SISTER, NANCY. THUS WHEN THE SIX ELDER CHILDREN WERE TAKEN TO ALABAMA IN 1834 OR 1835, THEY LEFT BEHIND THEIR FREE MOTHER, PATSEY, AND FREE SISTER, NANCY.

SOMETIME AFTER, 1850, PATSEY TOOK HER FREE CHILD, NANCY, TO OBERLIN, OHIO. IN OBERLIN, NANCY MARRIED ANDREW JACKSON, A SKILLED CARPENTER LISTED ALSO AS A CARRIAGE MAKER.

THE AFRICAN PRINCESS — THE FOURTH GENERATION IN AMERICA

Of Patsey's eight children, the youngest — Nancy — was free; and married and reared a family in Oberlin, Ohio. Seven were slaves in Perry County, Alabama. They married other slaves belonging to the related white families who had colonized Marion, Alabama, in the mid-thirties, and who were of the same "upper-class" slave class to which they belonged: house servants, seamstresses, or craftsmen: It is reported that two males "passed" into the white "race" after the Civil War and married white women. Patsey's children were:

Peggy Freeman (Family facts not known)	John Freeman (Family facts not known)	Susan Freeman (Family facts not known)	Wilson Freeman (Family facts not known)	Martha Freeman (born, 1823, Orange County, North Carolina; died, Marion, Perry County, Alabama, 1872. Married James Childs, said to have been the son of his master. Crippled by an accident in childhood. He was taught to be a skilled leather worker and shoe-maker. Shortly before the Civil War, he bought his freedom and that of his wife. He was a co-founder of the Lincoln Normal School in 1867. He was literate before emancipation. His younger children did attend the Lincoln Normal School although all appear to have been literate.	Princess Webb Freeman (Born, 1826, Orange County, North Carolina; died, 1908, Marion, Perry County, Alabama. Married Alexander H. Curtis, born, 1826, Orange County, North Carolina, died, 1878, Marion, Perry County, Alabama. A barber by trade; also, building contractor. Assumed leadership in the Negro community; founded Lincoln Normal School; member and president, pro-tem, Alabama Reconstruction Senate; member of Board of "Colored Peoples University, first located at Marion in 1872. He sent his children to the Lincoln Normal School, and his two boys to medical and dental schools.	William Freeman (Marriage and family unknown)	Nancy Freeman, born, Orange County, North Carolina, 1833; taken to Oberlin, Ohio after 1850; by her mother, Patsey; her sisters had bought their freedom; Nancy married Andrew Jackson, skilled craftsman; had seven children who were educated in the Oberlin Public Schools, and in Oberlin College. Her descendants include school and college teachers, clergymen, and other professionals.
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FAMILY DIAGRAM NUMBER 3

THE AFRICAN PRINCESS — THE OFFSPRING OF TWO OF HER GREAT GREAT GRAND-CHILDREN: PRINCESS WEBB FREEMAN, SLAVE-BORN, WHO WAS A SLAVE IN ALABAMA FOR MOST OF HER LIFE, AND JAMES FREEMAN, EMANCIPATED BY PURCHASE BY HER SLAVE SISTERS WHEN AN INFANT, AND TAKEN TO OBERLIN, OHIO, IN HER EARLY TWENTIES, WHERE SHE MARRIED A FREE ARTISAN

First Generation — the Princess (C/RCA 1736-1800)		
Second Generation — Maria (1756-1825)		
Third Generation — Maria's Child (1785-1850)		
Fourth Generation — Patsy Freeman (1805-1869) who married William Freeman, a free man, and had eight slave children by him. Emancipated with her baby daughter, Nancy, in 1834, her seven slave children were taken to Alabama in 1835. Probably after the death of her husband in 1851 or soon afterward, Patsy moved to Oberlin, Ohio, about 1851, with her daughter, Nancy.		
Patsy's fifth child was Princess Webb Freeman, born in Orange County, North Carolina, in 1829, and taken as a slave to Perry County, Alabama, in 1835, married	Alexander H. Curtis, a fellow-slave who likewise had been born in Orange County, in 1826, and taken to Perry County, Alabama. He bought his wife's freedom and his own about 1859.	Patsy's youngest child, Nancy, in Oberlin, marriedAndrew Jackson, a prosperous carriage-maker of Oberlin.

They had four children. All attended the Lincoln Normal School at Marion, Alabama, that Alexander H. Curtis helped to found in 1867, with other freedmen: In 1868, the school was deeded to the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church, with the association pledging itself to supply support and a teaching staff.

The children were:

1. Alex Curtis, Junior.
2. Webb Curtis.
3. Thomas Austin Curtis, born, 1862. He was able to attend the Lincoln Normal School in 1867 when it opened. He was graduated from its high school and was later sent to the Central Tennessee College in Nashville, Tennessee, where he graduated with the degree of D.D.S. from its medical school, the Meharry Medical College. He was married to Lucy Simington, of Marion, whose mother is said to have attended (though a slave) the school for white girls in Marion, Judson Seminary, as she served as a companion for the white girls in her master's family. Lucy Simington graduated from the Lincoln Normal School. Their son, Lucien Simington, took his Ph.D. in economics from Chicago.
4. William Parrish Curtis, born, 1865, graduated from the Lincoln Normal School, received M.D. Degree from Howard University. His second wife was Julia Childs, who graduated from the Lincoln Normal School, and earned a B.S. Degree from Atlanta University. Their son, William Childs Curtis, took his Ph.D. from Harvard University.

They had seven children, who attended public schools in Oberlin. William Montgomery Jackson, the oldest, born in 1854, attended Oberlin College for two years, leaving to become the principal of a missionary school for freedmen in Lexington, Kentucky. He married Maria Byrd Hubbard; He later became an Episcopalian priest in North Carolina. The other children were:

1. Mattie Rebecca Jackson, who taught in the schools of Chattanooga, Tennessee, for fifty years.
2. John Charles Freeman Jackson, who was a contractor and builder, and taught manual labor at Oberlin Academy.
3. Andrew Jackson, Junior, was a teacher.
4. George Jackson, who attended Oberlin Academy and the University of Michigan; a pharmacist, he operated a drugstore in Memphis, Tenn., for more than 40 years; It is said that the composer, W. C. Handy, wrote the song, "The St. Louis Blues," at a table in his store.
5. Robert Jackson; became a teacher in St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, North Carolina.
6. Flossie E. Jackson; attended Fisk University, Oberlin, Meharry; She was a pharmacist in her brother's drugstore in Memphis.

FAMILY DIAGRAM NUMBER 4

THE AFRICAN PRINCESS: THE SIXTH GENERATION: THE CHILDREN OF JAMES CHILDS AND MARTHA FREEMAN

First Generation — The Princess (Circa 1736-1800)
 Second Generation — Maria (1782-1840)
 Third Generation — Maria's Child (1785-1850)
 Fourth Generation — Patsey Freeman (1805-1859)
 Fifth Generation — Martha Freeman who married James Childs

THE SIXTH GENERATION

Maggie Childs: little information: She did attend the Lincoln Normal School and the Talladega College Normal Department: married Jim Parker; was once on staff at Talladega College.	Stephen Childs: b., 1846; was body servant of Gen'l George D. Johnston at Battle of Chickamauga; operated a highly successful bakery, and Confectionery and general store in Marion; his preserved records also show long and substantial trading in cotton futures with a Wall Street firm; died, 1906. Married Julia Godwin; two of whom took Bachelor's Degrees at Atlanta University; Nell graduated from "Normal Department" at Atlanta University, in 1928.	Wm. Henry Freeman; information incomplete; for many years, was a member of the Chicago Police Department, reaching rank unprecedented for Negro officers.	Patsey Childs: b., 1856; d. 1952. Attended Lincoln Normal; graduated, Lincoln school, and from Talladega College Normal as a "first" in 1876.	Julia Childs: graduated from Lincoln Normal; no further information.	James Childs, Jr.: graduated from Lincoln School: No further information.	Charles Childs; graduated from Lincoln School: married Rebecca White; was appointed Postmaster of Marion during Harrison's Administration, 1889-1893	Roberta Childs; graduated from Lincoln School attended Talladega and Knoxville Colleges; married fellow-teacher, and graduate of American Missionary School — Emerson Institute at Mobile, Alabama — William Henry Hastie; mother of William H. Hastie, b., 1902; A. B., Amherst, (PBK), L. L. B., '30, Harvard; S.J.D., Harvard; Judge, 3rd District Court of Appeals.
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THE AFRICAN PRINCESS: THE SEVENTH GENERATION: THE CHILDREN OF STEPHEN
CHILDREN WHO MARRIED JULIA GOODWIN

First Generation — The Princess: (Circa 1736-1800)
Second Generation — Maria (1782-1840)
Third Generation — Maria's Child (1785-1850)
Fourth Generation — Patsey Freeman (1805-1859)
Fifth Generation — Martha Freeman (1823-1872) who married James Childs (1822-1870)
Sixth Generation — Stephen Childs (1846-1906) who married Julia Goodwin (—-1922)

THE SEVENTH GENERATION

Julia Gertrude: born, Marion, Perry County, Alabama, 1877; died, 1945. Graduated from Lincoln Normal; A.B., Atlanta University, 1895; married Bishop James Bray; one child, who died in young womanhood.	Martha: gradu- ated, Lincoln Normal School; A.B., Atlanta University, 1895; married Bishop James Bray; one child, who died in young womanhood.	Nell: gradu- ated from Lin- coln Normal; graduated from "Normal" de- partment of Talladega Col- lege; married Reverend A. T. Clark. No chil- dren; at one time was member of Talladega College staff.	Nathan: gradu- ated from Lin- coln Normal; married Nell Crawford.	Stephen Amzi: graduated from Lincoln Normal; married Lena Bates.	Charles Sumner: graduated from Lincoln Normal; married Mamie Johnson.	Frances: born, Marion, Perry, County, Ala- bama, 1885; died, 1961. Graduated from Lincoln Normal; attended Knox- ville College for two years. Married Henry W. Porter, who, was born, Marietta, Georgia, 1867, the son of two free Negroes from South Carolina. Henry Porter re- ceived A.B., at- lanta University, B.D., Talladega College: was a pastor and Y.M.C.A. secretary. Frances was mother of Anna Porter Burrell, Ph.D.
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THE AFRICAN PRINCESS: THREE DOCTORATES WHO WERE PRODUCED

BY THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH GENERATIONS

First Generation — The Princess: (Circa 1736-1800)	
Second Generation — Maria (1782-1840)	
Third Generation — Maria's Child (1785-1850)	
Fourth Generation — Patsey Freeman (1805-1859)	
Fifth Generation — Martha Freeman (1823-1872) who married James Childs (1822-1870)	
Sixth Generation — Princess Webb Freeman (1826-1908) married Alexander H. Curtis (1829-1878)	
— Stephen Childs (1846-1906) married Julia Goodwin (— 1898)	
— Thomas Austin Curtis, D.D.S. (1862-1943) married Lucy Simington (1862-1935)	
— William Parrish Curtis, M.D. (1865-1945) married Julia Gertrude Childs (1877-1955)	
Seventh Generation — Henry W. Porter (1867-1941) married Frances Childs (1885-1961)	

THE SEVENTH GENERATION

Thomas Austin Curtis married Lucy Simington

Lucien Simington Curtis, born 1893,
Montgomery, Alabama; graduated, Sumner
High School, St. Louis, Missouri; A.B.,
1916, Howard University; A.B., 1919,
Harvard University; Ph.D., Economics,
University of Chicago. Professor of Economics,
Harris Teachers College; lecturer,
Washington University.

THE SEVENTH GENERATION

William Parrish Curtis married

(1) Lillian Welsh,
Child: Guy P. Curtis,
D.D.S.

(2) Julia Gertrude Childs:
Children:
Constance A. Curtis, M.A.,
Public Relations; William Childs
Curtis, born, 1904, St. Louis,
Mo.; B.S., M.S., University of
Illinois; Ph.D., Engineering,
Physics, Harvard University;
Taught at Tuskegee Institute for
18 years; Now senior research
engineer, Radio Corporation of
America, Lexington, Massachusetts.

THE EIGHTH GENERATION

Henry W. Porter married Frances Childs

Anna Porter Burrell, born, Knoxville,
Tennessee, 1902; graduated, Girls High
School, Philadelphia; B.S., M.S., Uni-
versity of Pennsylvania; Ph.D., New
York University. Professor of Education
and Psychology, Director of Human Re-
lations Workshop, State University Col-
lege, Buffalo, New York.

FAMILY DIAGRAM NUMBER 7
THE LANGSTON-DANIEL FAMILY*

Maria, born in 1801, was educated by tutors. She emancipated and married Joseph Powell, who had been a slave of her father. She is said to have had twenty-one children, who were taught in a private school maintained in her home.	Gideon was born in 1809. Aside from his attendance at the Oberlin Academy, four generations of the Langston family have attended Oberlin; One, in the third generation, was the first Negro elected to PBK at Oberlin.	Charles was born in 1817. We know he attended the Oberlin Academy, and that he married the widow of Sheridan Leary, a school mate, who was killed in John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. The poet, Langston Hughes, is Charles' grandson.	William Daniel, probably the son of a free father and a slave mother, was set free by his wife in 1850. He was a leather-worker and shoemaker, who also farmed.	Charles J. Daniel, born 1845, died, 1916, married Carrie J. Green, born 1866, died, 1943; Charles G. Daniel taught himself before the Civil War. He finally completed the "Normal" and academic course at the Richmond Theological Institute (now Virginia Union University) in 1884, at the age of 39; then studied law for one year at Howard University. He married Carrie J. Green, an honor graduate of Wayland Seminary. He became secretary and business officer of the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute (now Virginia State College), during the presidency of his great-uncle, John Mercer Langston, 1885-1887. The couple reared a family of eight children on the campus; five were to receive doctoral degrees.	<table><tr><td>Vattel, B. born 1890; A.B., Va. Union, 1914; A.M., Colorado 1924; Ph.D., Chicago, 1940. Dean, Ala. State college (retired), Married, Maggie Brown, Clair.</td><td>Sadie M. born 1892; A.B., Fisk, Etteville 1914; A.M., Columbia, Ph.D., N.Y.U.; professor, District of Columbia Teachers, Married Irwin St. Clair.</td><td>Charles born 1893; A.B., Fayetteville State Teachers College, Teacher.</td><td>William, born 1897; A.B., Va. Union; Ph.D., Chicago Research professor, Scientist, college professor.</td><td>Carrie W., born 1899; A.B., Fisk; married Ulysses Prunty.</td><td>Corinne, born 1899; A.B., Fisk; married William Christian.</td><td>Robert P., born 1902; A.B., Va. Union, 1924; A.M., Columbia, 1928; Ph.D., Columbia, 1932. Married, Blanche Taylor;</td><td>Walter G., born 1905; A.B., Va. Union, 1926 B.E.D., Cincinnati, 1927; Ph.D., Columbia, 1941. Married Theodora Williams, Editor, Journal of Negro Education, librarian, Howard U.</td></tr></table>	Vattel, B. born 1890; A.B., Va. Union, 1914; A.M., Colorado 1924; Ph.D., Chicago, 1940. Dean, Ala. State college (retired), Married, Maggie Brown, Clair.	Sadie M. born 1892; A.B., Fisk, Etteville 1914; A.M., Columbia, Ph.D., N.Y.U.; professor, District of Columbia Teachers, Married Irwin St. Clair.	Charles born 1893; A.B., Fayetteville State Teachers College, Teacher.	William, born 1897; A.B., Va. Union; Ph.D., Chicago Research professor, Scientist, college professor.	Carrie W., born 1899; A.B., Fisk; married Ulysses Prunty.	Corinne, born 1899; A.B., Fisk; married William Christian.	Robert P., born 1902; A.B., Va. Union, 1924; A.M., Columbia, 1928; Ph.D., Columbia, 1932. Married, Blanche Taylor;	Walter G., born 1905; A.B., Va. Union, 1926 B.E.D., Cincinnati, 1927; Ph.D., Columbia, 1941. Married Theodora Williams, Editor, Journal of Negro Education, librarian, Howard U.
Vattel, B. born 1890; A.B., Va. Union, 1914; A.M., Colorado 1924; Ph.D., Chicago, 1940. Dean, Ala. State college (retired), Married, Maggie Brown, Clair.	Sadie M. born 1892; A.B., Fisk, Etteville 1914; A.M., Columbia, Ph.D., N.Y.U.; professor, District of Columbia Teachers, Married Irwin St. Clair.	Charles born 1893; A.B., Fayetteville State Teachers College, Teacher.	William, born 1897; A.B., Va. Union; Ph.D., Chicago Research professor, Scientist, college professor.	Carrie W., born 1899; A.B., Fisk; married Ulysses Prunty.	Corinne, born 1899; A.B., Fisk; married William Christian.	Robert P., born 1902; A.B., Va. Union, 1924; A.M., Columbia, 1928; Ph.D., Columbia, 1932. Married, Blanche Taylor;	Walter G., born 1905; A.B., Va. Union, 1926 B.E.D., Cincinnati, 1927; Ph.D., Columbia, 1941. Married Theodora Williams, Editor, Journal of Negro Education, librarian, Howard U.						
Lucy Langston was the slave and common-law wife of a wealthy Virginia planter, Ralph Quarles. He emancipated her with her first child born in 1801. Her four children took the name of Langston.		John Mercer was born in 1829; graduated from Oberlin College in 1849; admitted to Ohio bar in 1854; founded the Law School of Howard University in 1868; President of Virginia State College, 1885-1887; elected to 52nd Congress, 1888.											

*SOURCE: John Mercer Langston, *From The Virginia Plantation To The Nation's Capital*, Hartford: American Publ Co., 1894. Also: Autobiographical Documents Of Daniel's Family.

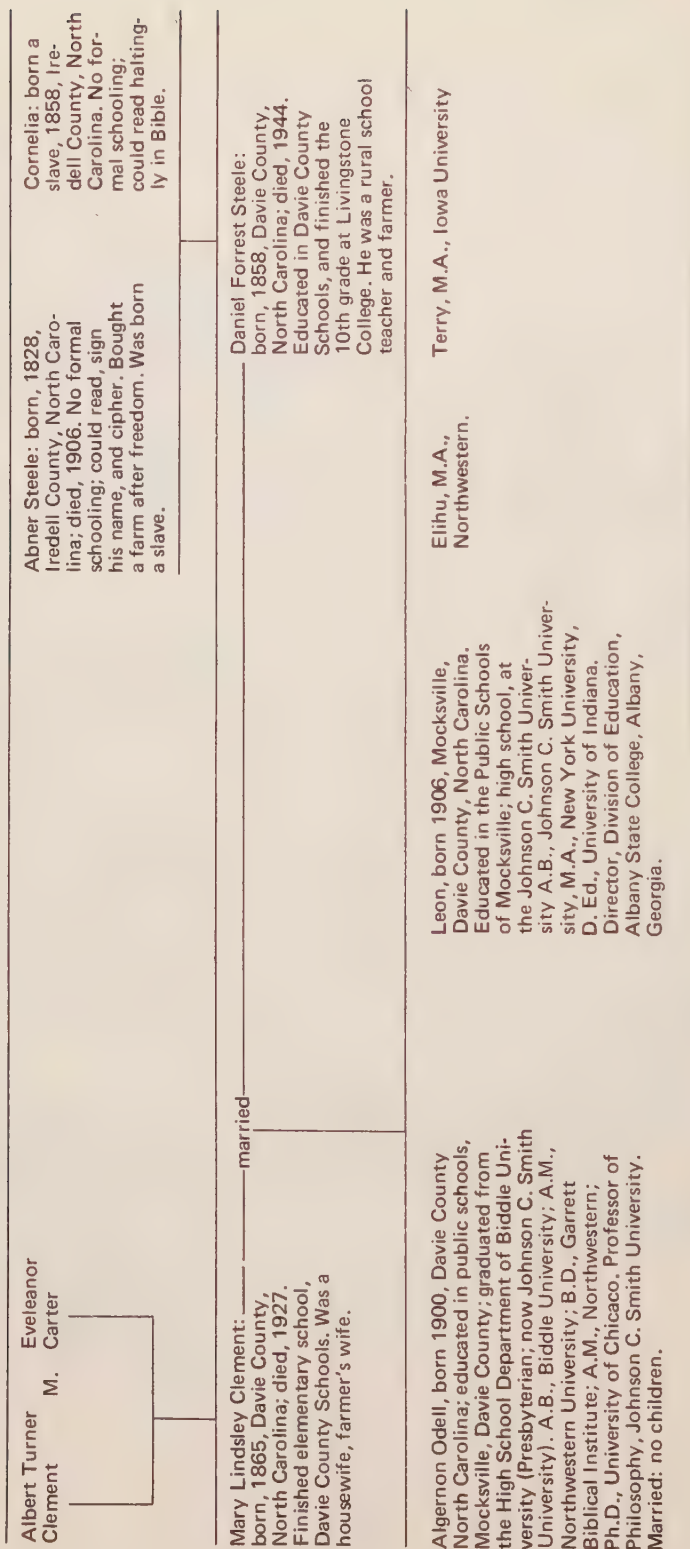
THE CLEMENT-STEEL FAMILY

(THE CLEMENT BRANCH)

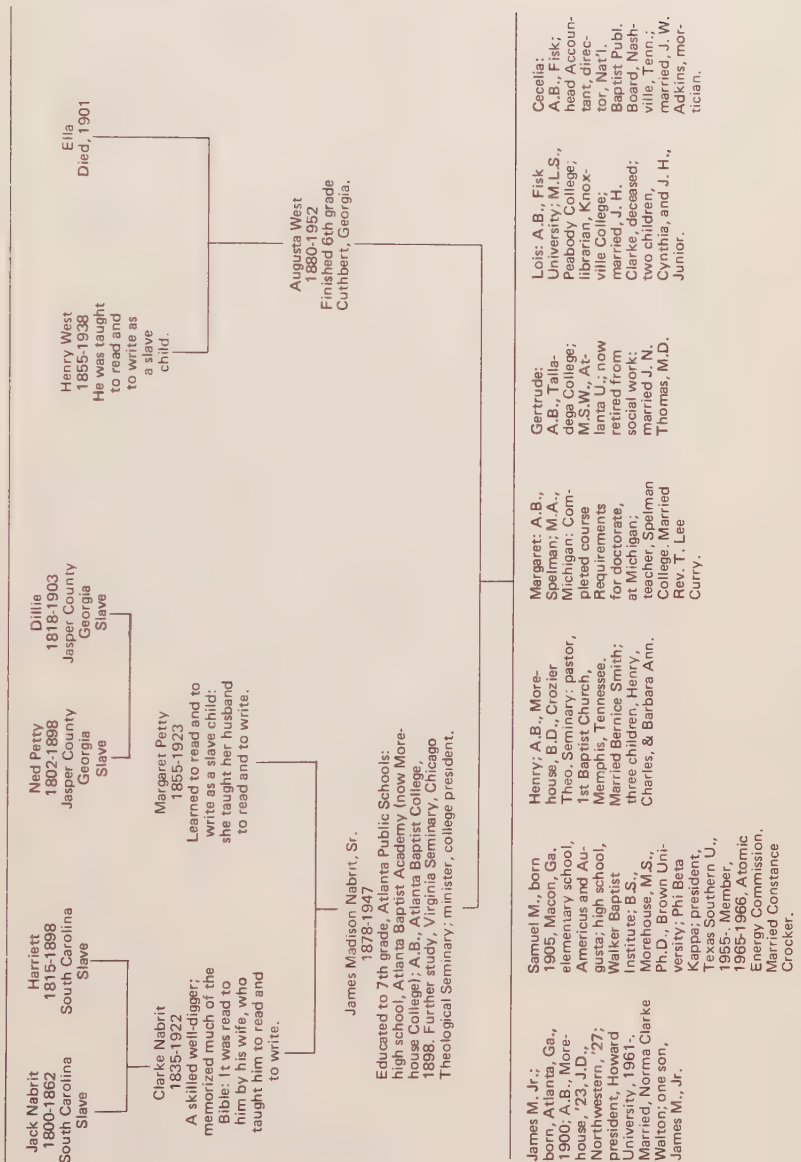
Albert Turner Clement, born 1838, _____ MARRIED _____ Davie County, N. Carolina, No formal schooling; acquired some knowledge of reading and writing. Learned trade of shoemaker; was also a minister. Born a slave; freed in 1865.		Evelleanor Carter, born, 1840, Davie County, North Carolina. No formal schooling; acquired some knowledge of letters. Born a slave; emancipated in 1865.	
George Clinton, born 1871, Davie County, N. Ca. Schooled at Livingstone College, Salisbury, N.C.; A.B., 1898; A.M., 1904. Became Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.	Bettye	Naomi	Ruth
Mary Lindley, born 1865, died 1927; attended elementary school, Livingstone College. Married D. F. Steele, who completed 10th grade at Livingstone College; he was a teacher and a farmer. See family diagram number nine for the Steele Family.			
Married			
Emma C. Williams, born, Virginia, 1874; elementary school, Providence, Rhode Island; high school and college, Livingstone College. Was selected as "American Mother of the Year."			
Abbie, b. 1899; attended Cheyney Normal School and Livingstone College. Married Clarence F. Jackson (d., 1958). No children. Church officer, Louisville, Kentucky.	Rufus Early, b., 1900; H. sch., Dinwiddie Academy and Livingstone College. A.B., M.S., 1919; B.D., 1922; M.A., Ph.D., Northwestern. President, Atlanta University, 1937-. Phi Beta Kappa. Married Pearl A. Johnson; one child.	Fred. Albert; high school, A.B., Livingstone College. B.S., M.S., Northwestern; prof., math., West Virginia State College.	Ruth Elizabeth; A.B., Livingstone College, M.A., Northwestern. Married J. Max Bond. Three children.
George Williams; high school and college (A.B.), Livingstone College. Insurance executive. One child.		James Addison; graduated, Central High School, Louisville, Kentucky; A.B., Livingstone College, M.A., Atlanta University. Candidate for doctorate, Ohio State University. Teacher, Tuskegee Institute; married Mary Ella (died, 1956); one daughter.	
Emma Mills; graduated, Central High School, Louisville, Kentucky; A.B., Livingstone College, M.A., Atlanta University. Candidate for doctorate, Ohio State University. Teacher, Tuskegee Institute; married Saunders Walker, professor, Tuskegee, One daughter.			

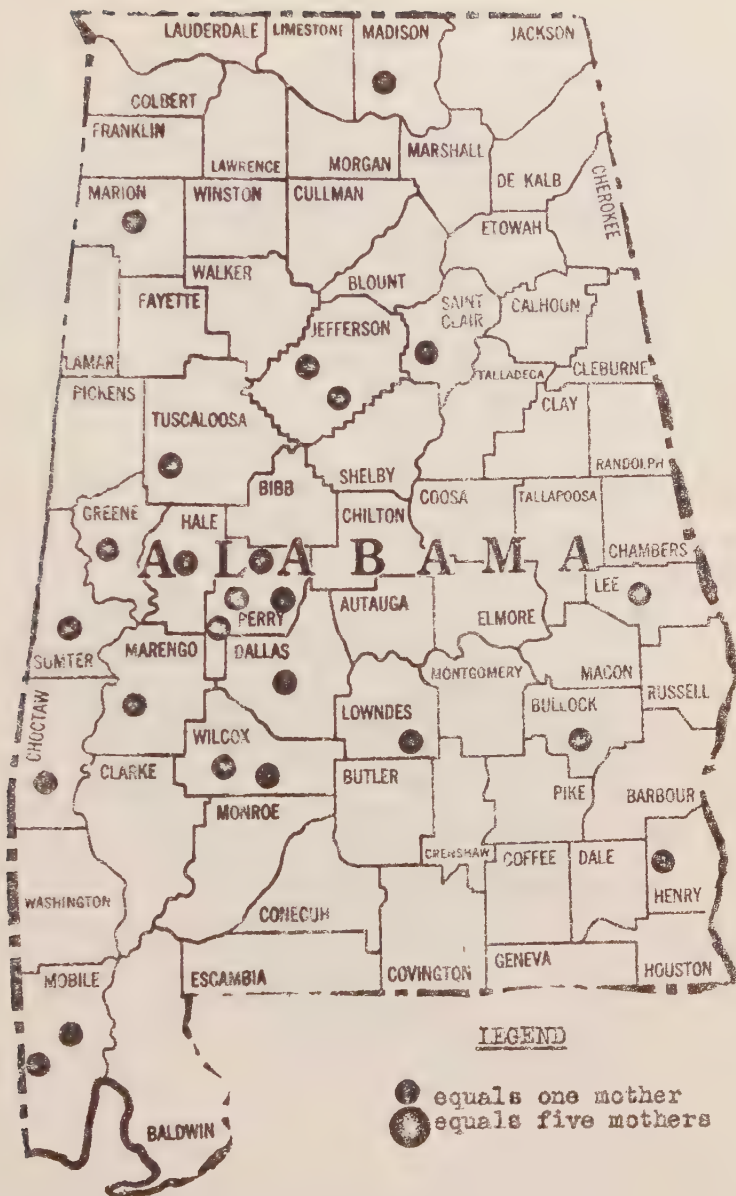
FAMILY DIAGRAM NUMBER 9 THE CLEMENT-STEELE FAMILY

THE STEELE BRANCH

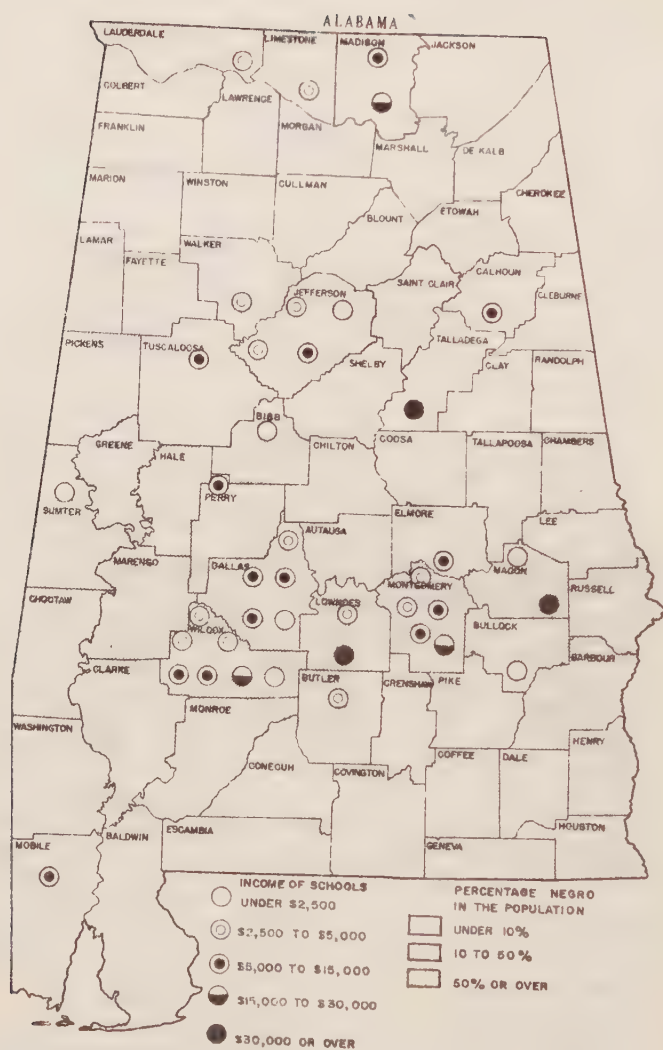


FAMILY DIAGRAM NUMBER 10
THE NABRIT FAMILY





STATE COUNTY MAP 1
Birthplace of Mothers of Doctorates by Counties in Alabama.



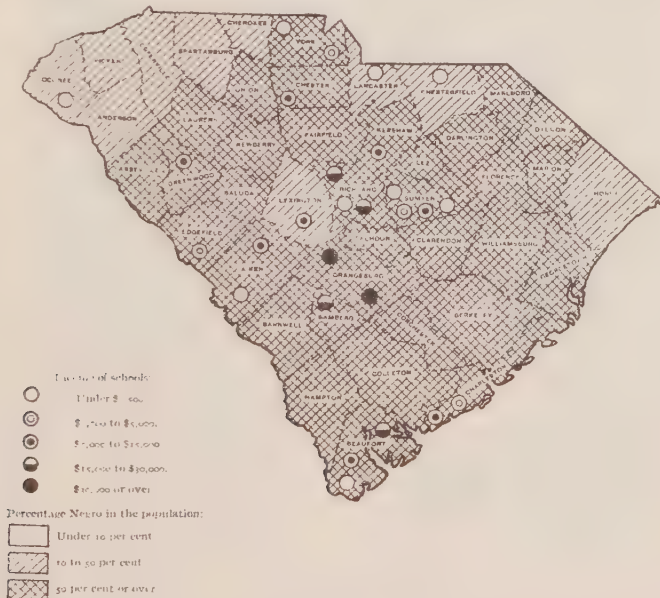
STATE COUNTY MAP 3

Private Schools for Negroes in Alabama in 1913. The circles show the location and the annual income of the important schools. The shading indicates percentage of Negroes in the total population. (Taken from p. 31, Thomas Jesse Jones, *Negro Education Bulletin*, 1916, U. S. Dept. of the Interior, Bureau of Education).



MAP 21. PRIVATE SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES IN NORTH CAROLINA

The circles show the location and the annual income of the more important schools. The shading indicates the percentage Negroes in the total population

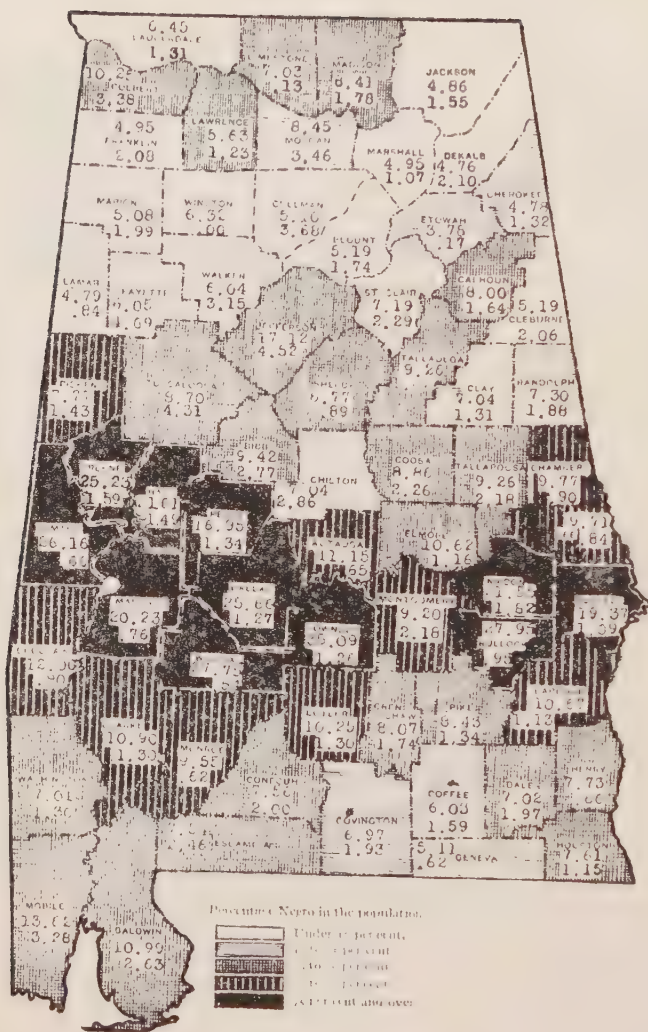


MAP 24.—PRIVATE SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

The circles show the location and the annual income of the important schools. The shading indicates the percentage of Negroes in the total population.

STATE COUNTY MAPS 4 AND 5

Private schools for Negroes in North and South Carolina in 1913. (Taken from pp. 393 and 473, same source as Map 3 on previous page).



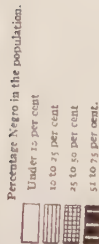
MAP 2.—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES FOR WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN IN ALABAMA ON THE BASIS OF TEACHERS' SALARIES

The upper figure in each county is for white children, the lower for colored. The shading indicates the percentage of Negroes in the total population.

STATE COUNTY MAP 6

Per Capita Expenditures in 1913 per Child by Race in Alabama Counties (Source same as previous page).

Per Capita Expenditures in 1913 Per Child by Race in North Carolina
(Source: Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 60).

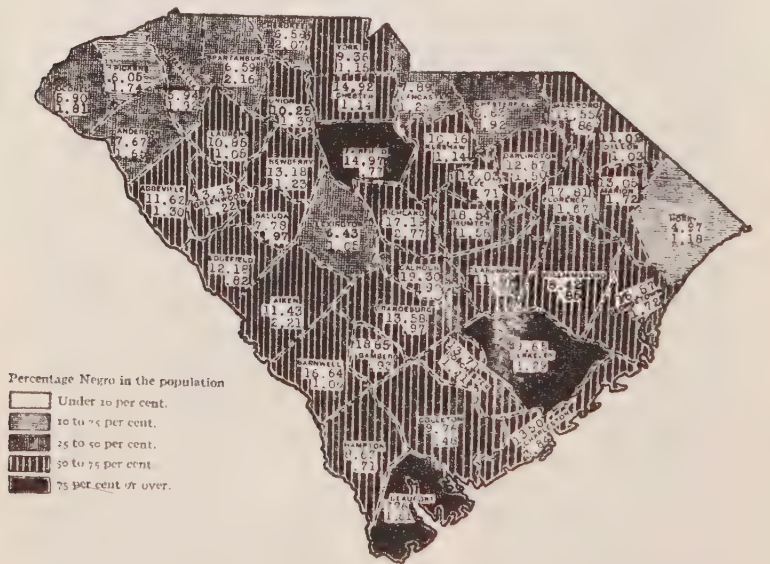


MAP 20.—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES FOR WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN IN NORTH CAROLINA ON THE BASIS OF TEACHERS' SALARIES.

The upper figure in each county is for white children; the lower for colored. The shading indicates the percentage of Negroes in the total population.

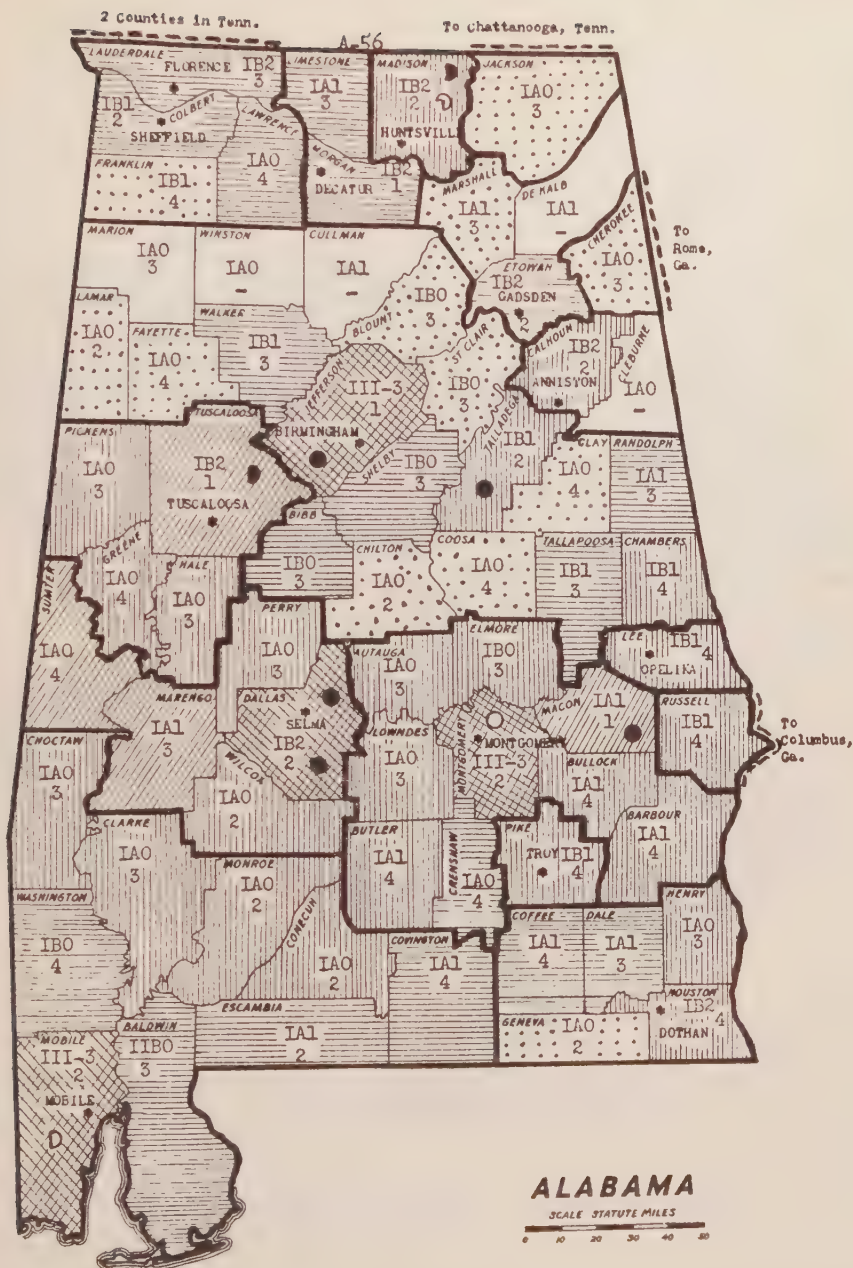
STATE COUNTY MAP 8

Per Capita Expenditures in 1913 Per Child by Race in South Carolina
(Source same as County Map 3).



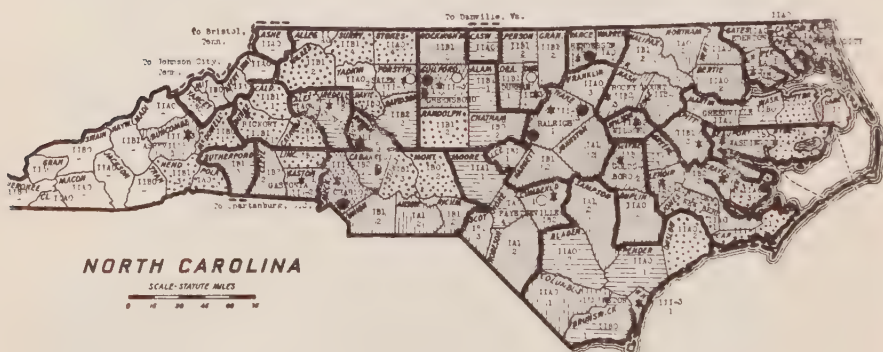
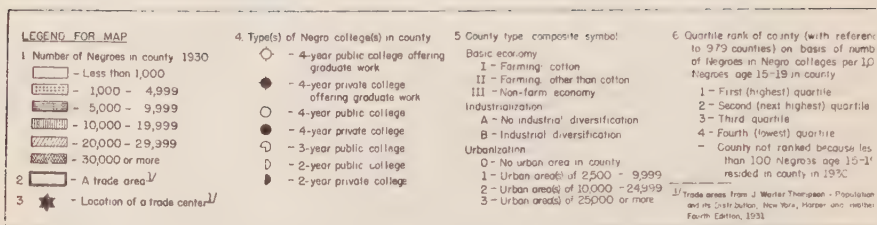
MAP 23.—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES FOR WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN IN SOUTH CAROLINA ON THE BASIS OF TEACHERS' SALARIES.

The upper figure in each county is for white children, the lower for colored. The shading indicates the percentage of Negroes in the total population.



STATE COUNTY MAP 9

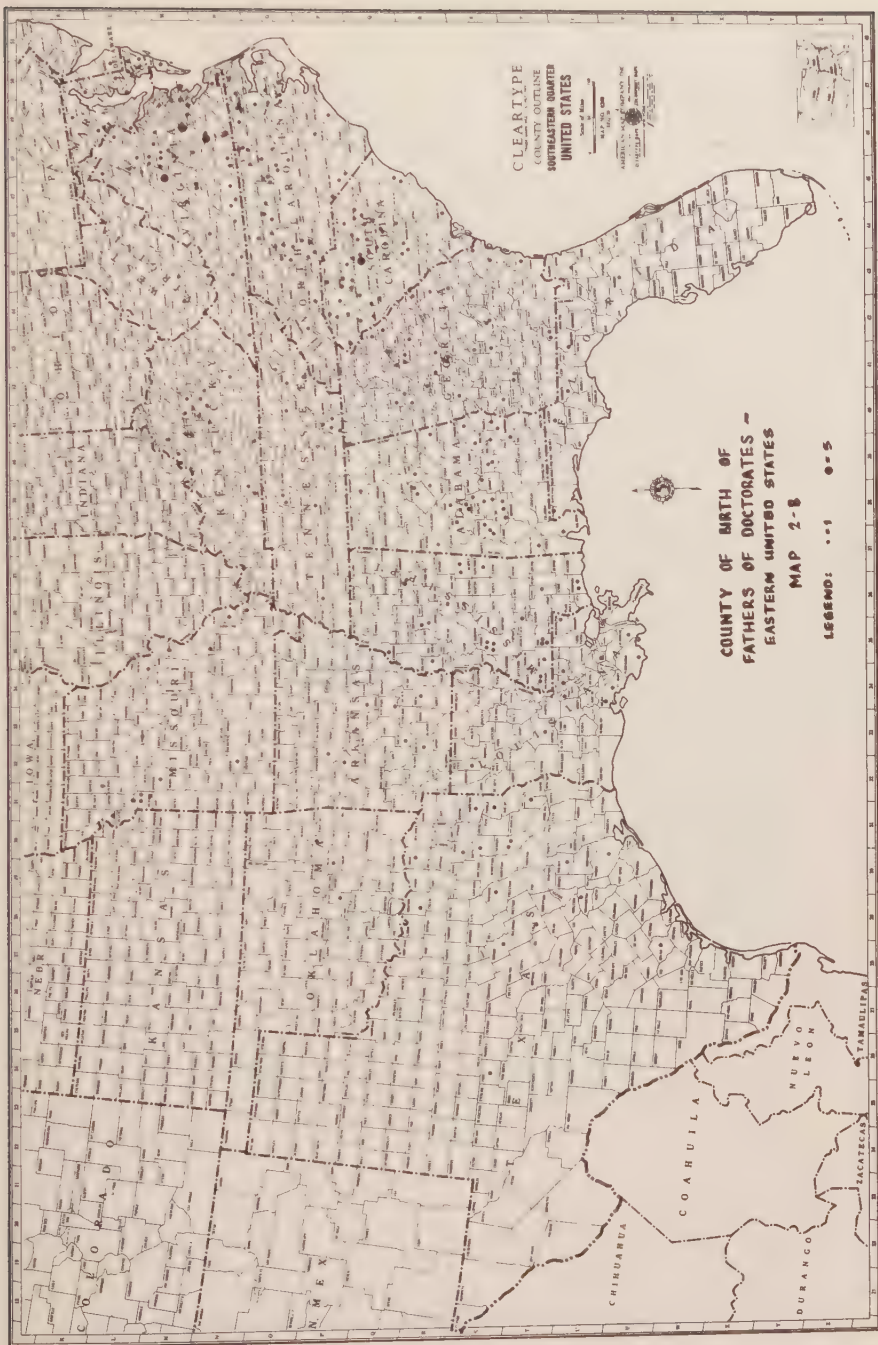
Socio-Economic Classification of Counties in Alabama in 1940 (From Ina Corinne Brown, *Socio-Economic Approach to Education*, p. 67, Nat'l Survey of the Higher Education of Negroes, Misc. No. 6, Vol. 1, Fed. Security Agency, U. S. Office of Education, 1942).

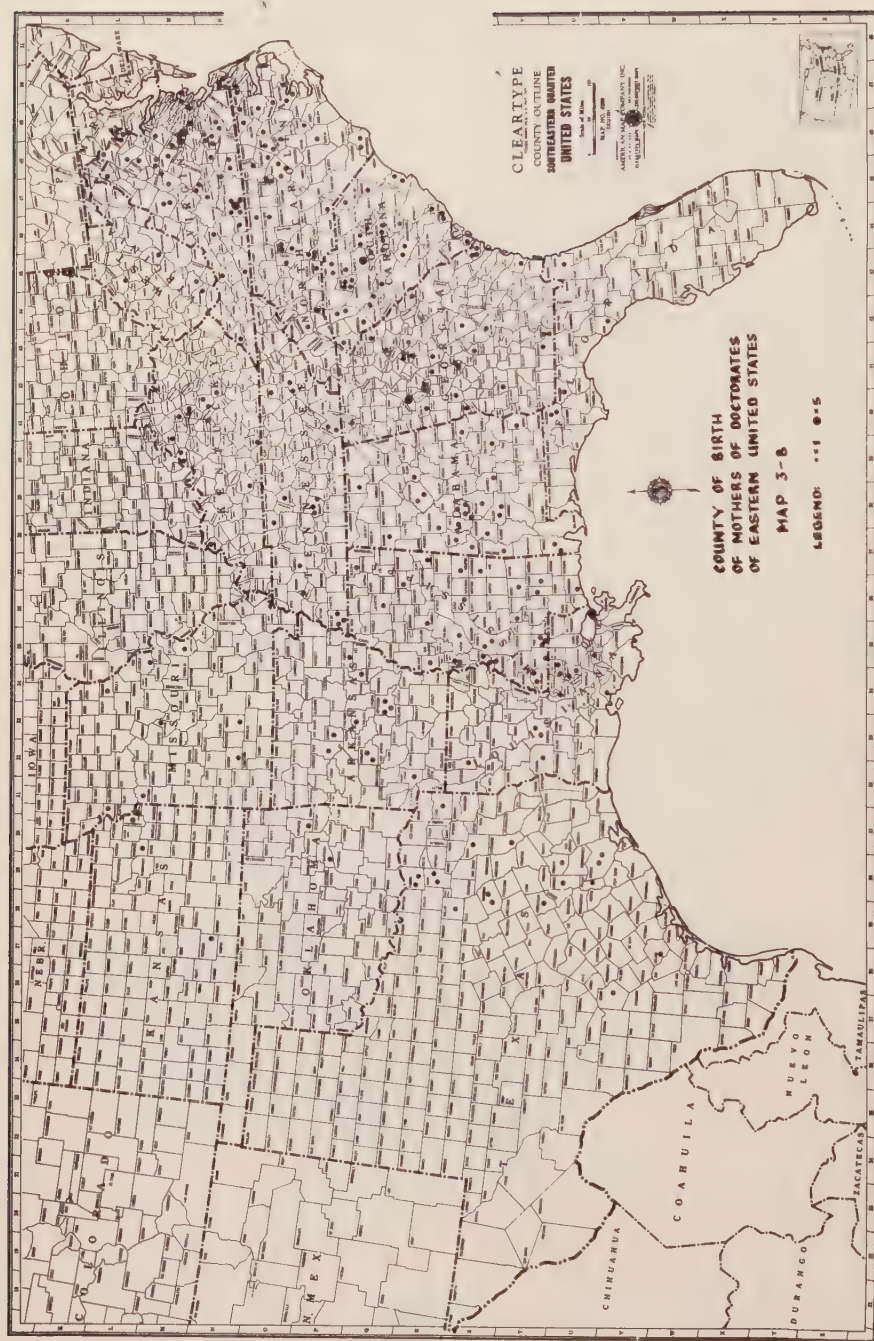


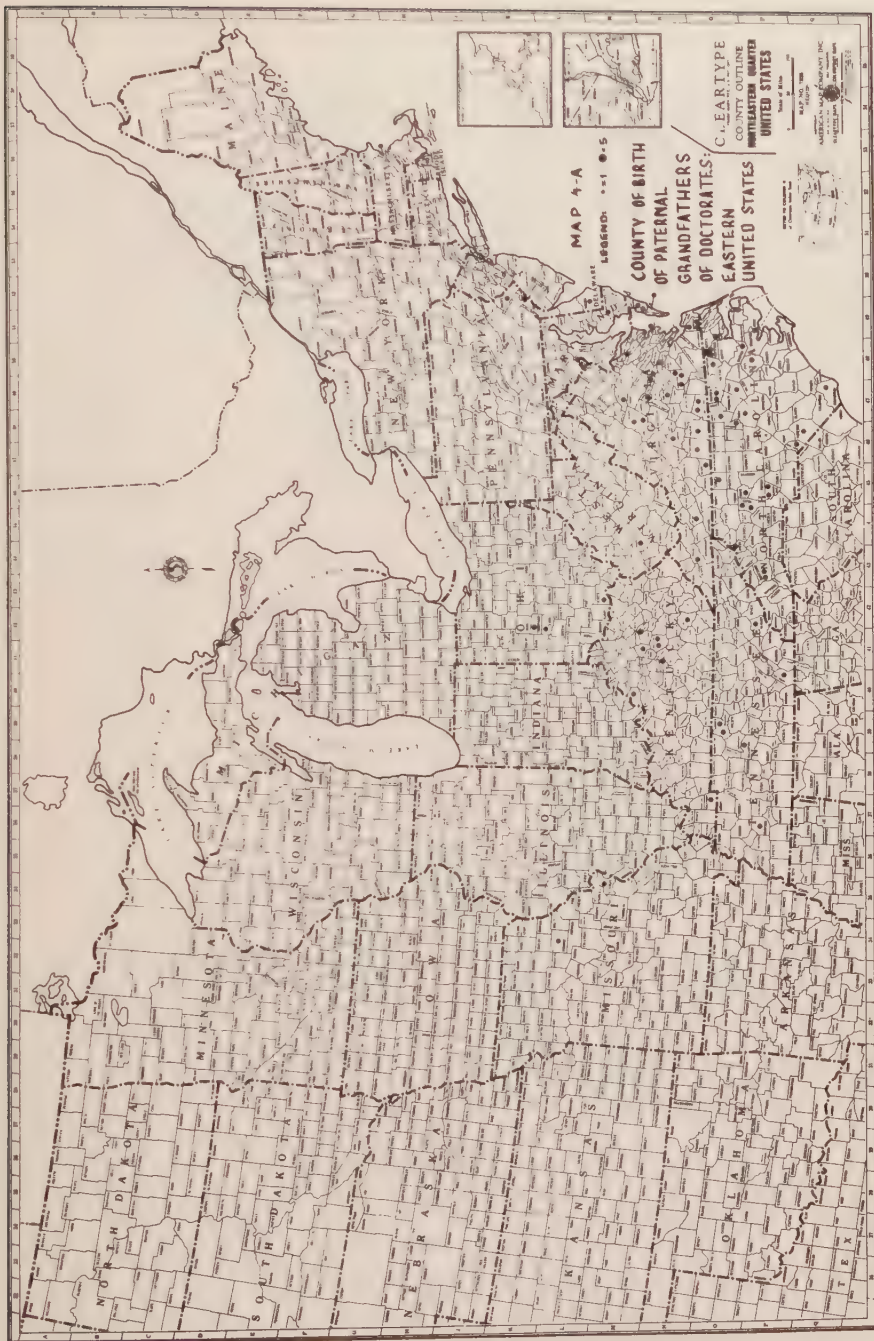
STATE COUNTY MAP 10
 Socio-Economic Classification of Counties in North Carolina in 1940 (From p. 87, same sources as for Map 9 on previous page).

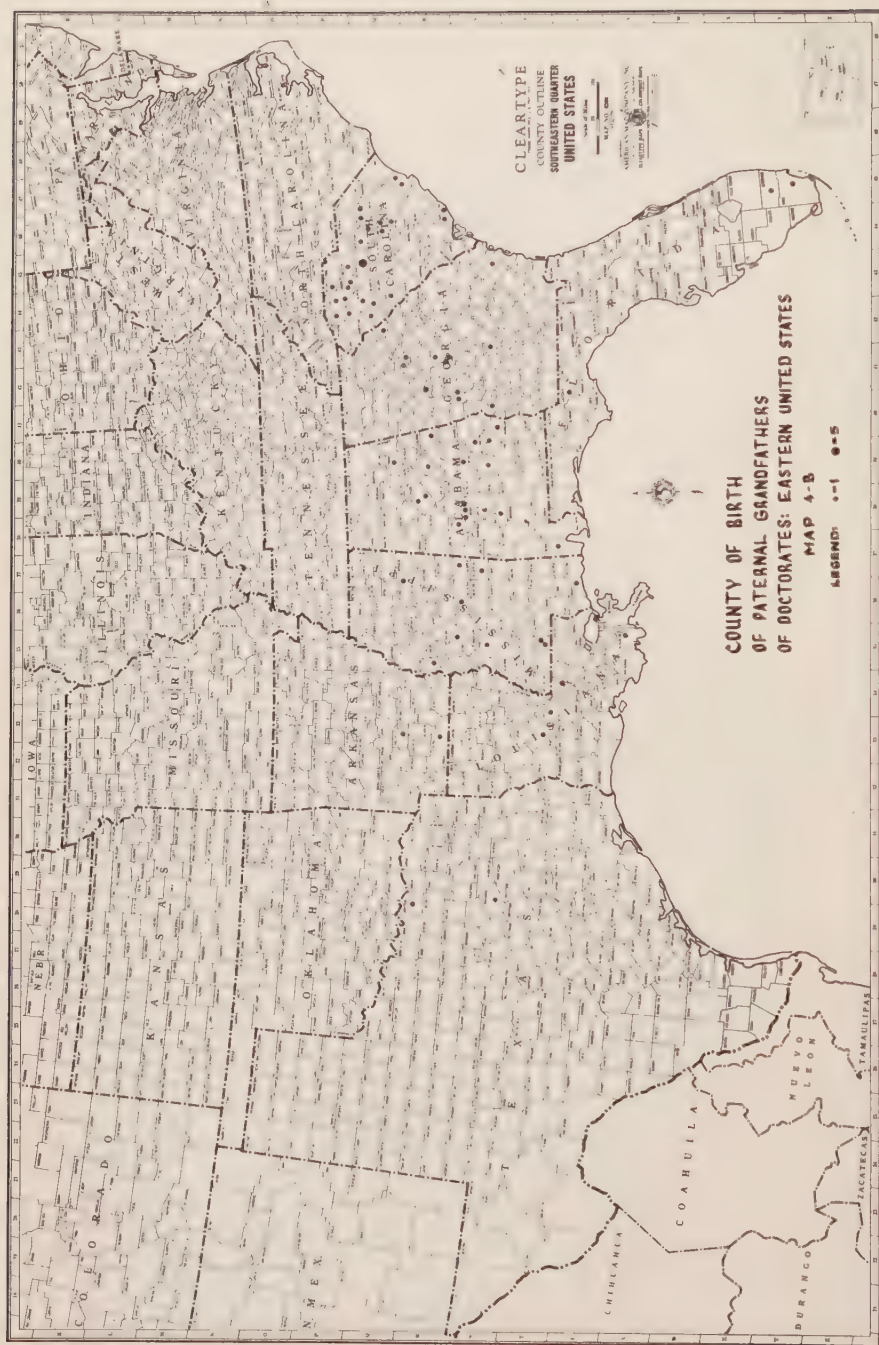


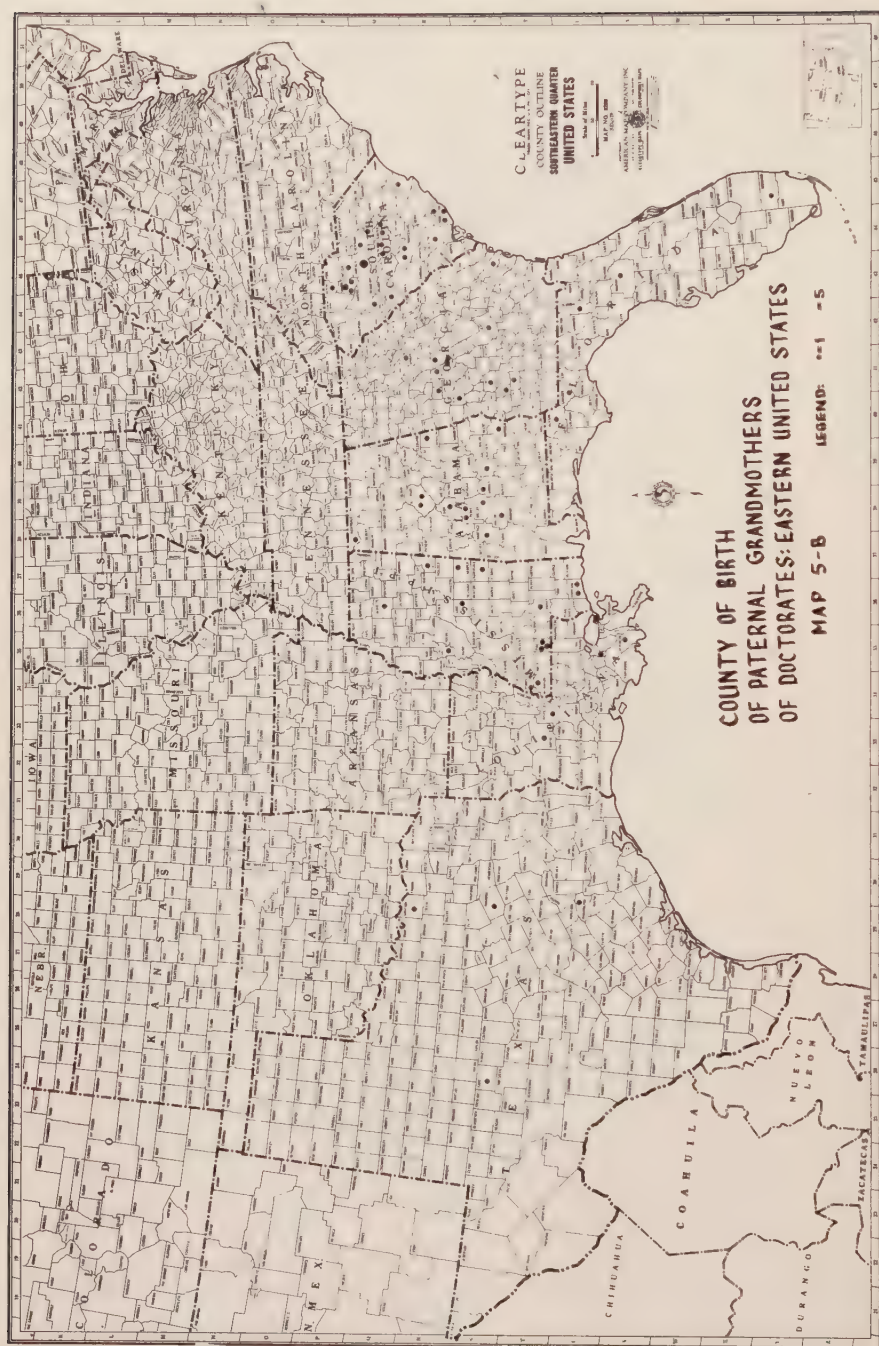


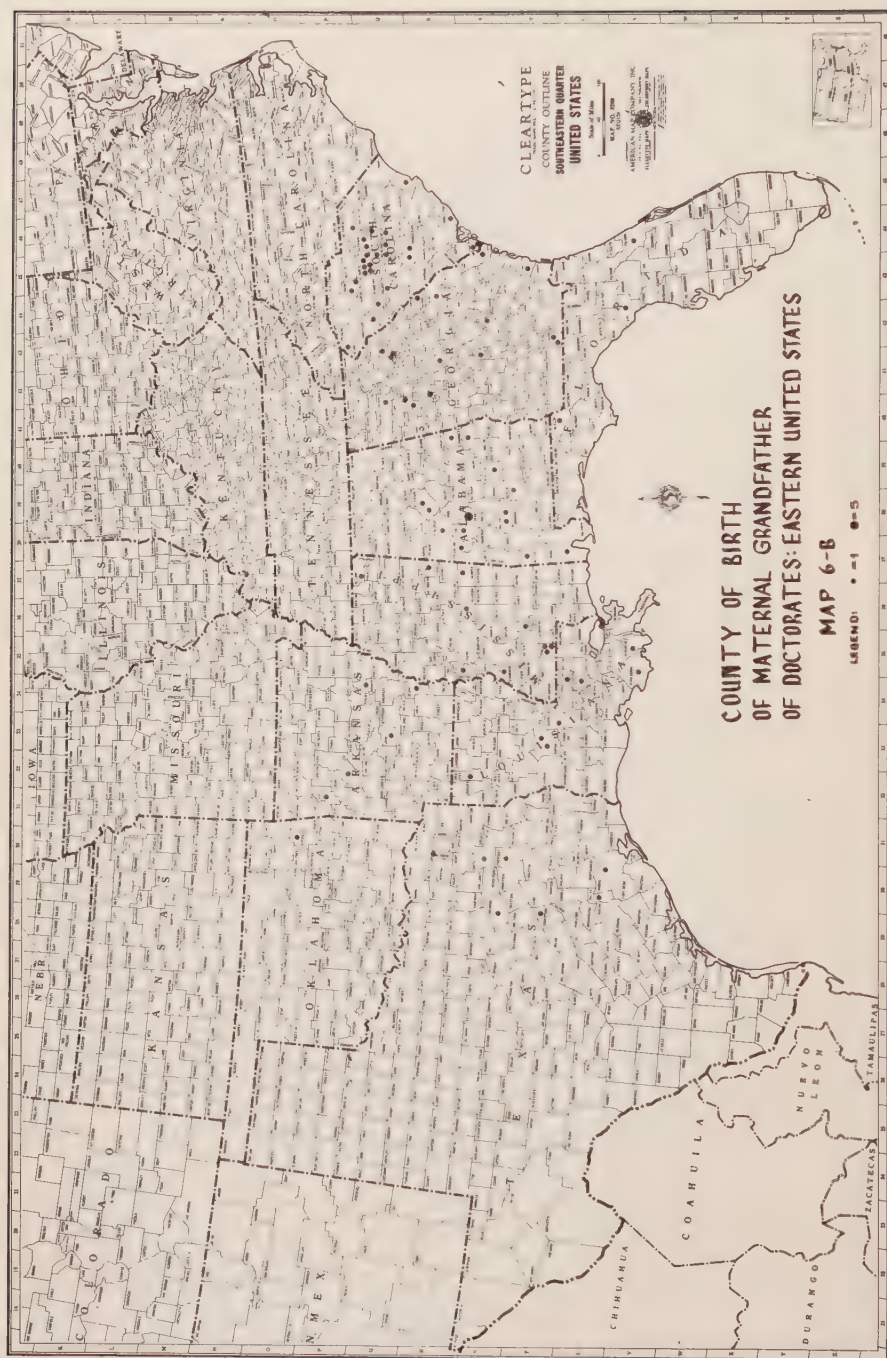


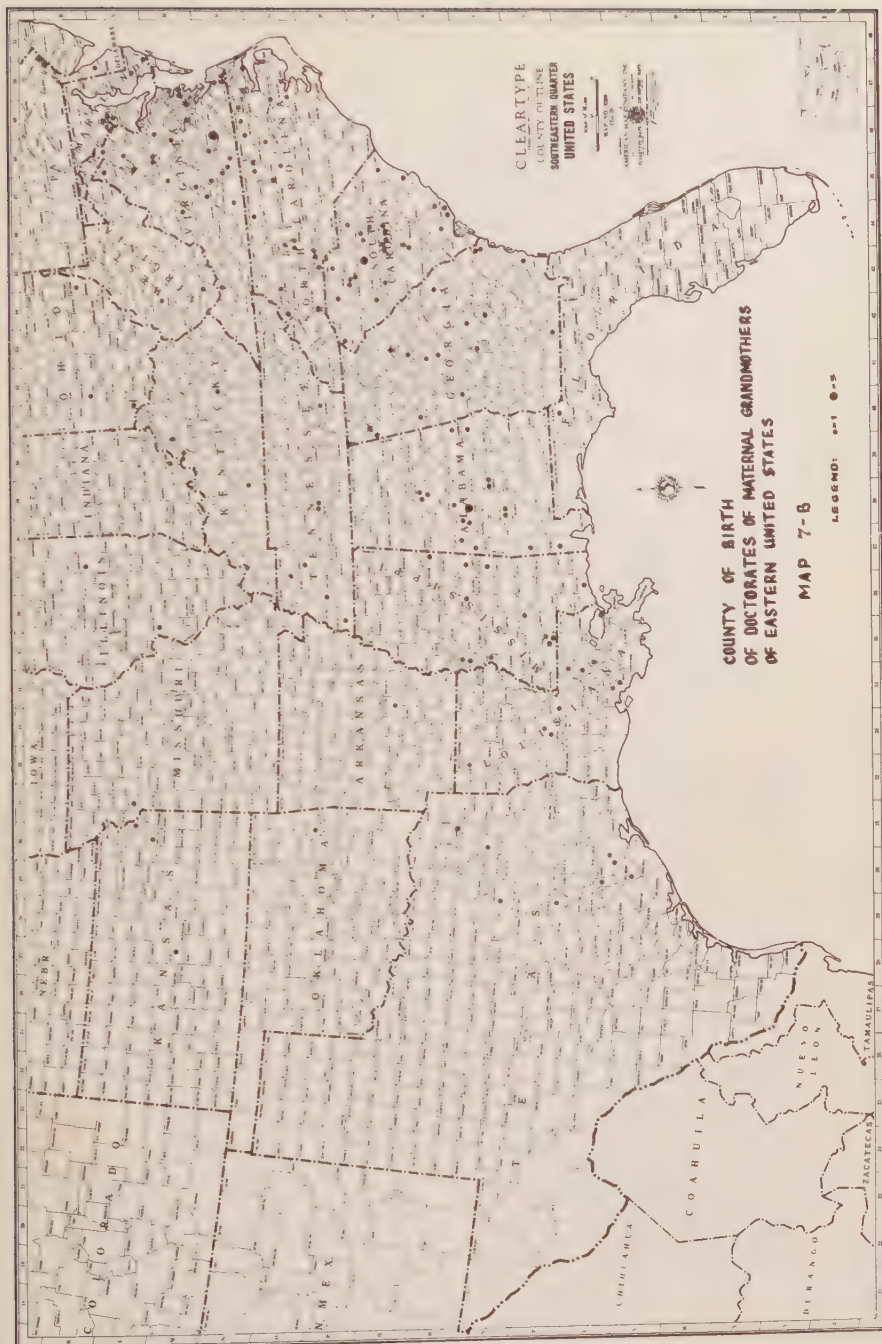


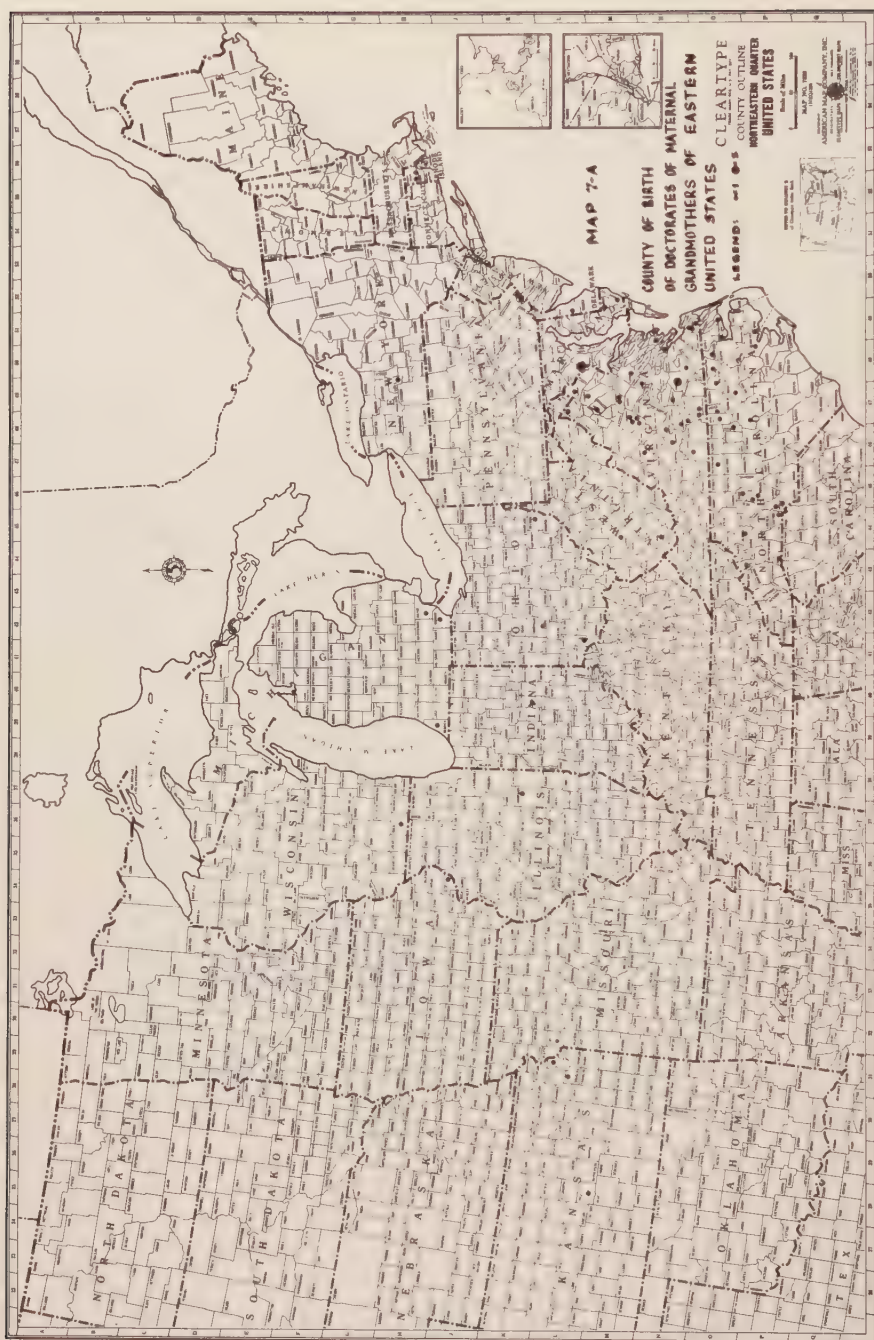












No. Respondent QUESTIONNAIRE: A STUDY OF THE EDUCATIONAL ANCESTRY
 MAJOR OF A SELECTED GROUP OF . . .

Questions		(1) Your Record		(2) Father's Record		(3) Mother's Record	
1.	Life dates (born, died)						
2.	Where born						
		State	City or P.O.	State	City or P.O.	State	City or P.O.
		County	Rural or Urban	County	Rural or Urban	County	Rural or Urban
3.	Other places lived						
4.	Formal Schooling: A. Elementary Grades (longest attendance): a. Where?	State	City	State	City	State	City
		Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private
		1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
B.	High School (Long. attend.) Where?						
		State	City	State	City	State	City
	b. Name of High school						
	c. Sponsored by						
		Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private
		1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
d.	Circle last grade completed						
C.	College (Long. Attend.) a. Name						
	b. Circle last year completed						
	c. Sponsored by						
	(If Church give denomination)						
D.	Graduate and/or Professional						
	a. Name of institution						
	Degree received						
	b. Name of institution						
	c. Name of institution						
E.	Describe important informal education						
5.	Occupations						
6.	Unique characteristics						
7.	List kinfolk with advanced degrees, stating degrees, and institutions						

(Additional spaces requested the same information for grandparents, and for any other "key" relative)

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